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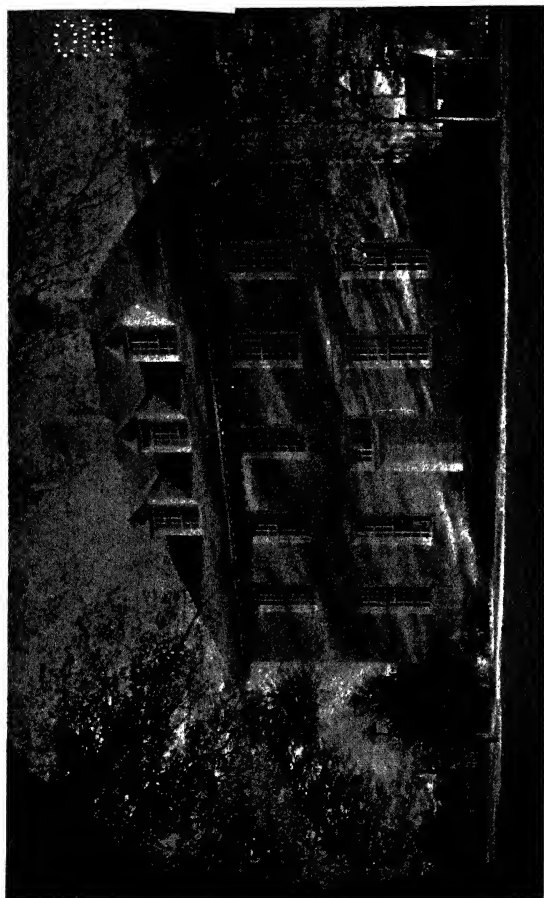




*American Indian Education*







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The Brafferton Building, Erected 1723 as the Indian College at the College of  
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# *American Indian Education*

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS AND  
ECONOMIC PROGRESS

*Evelyn C. Adams*

With an Introduction by  
*John Collier*



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TO THE EVELYNS

*Billy Ack, Marion, Mary Wood, Patricia*





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## *Preface*

A SELFISH motive prompted the preparation of this small volume. When stationed on a western Indian Reservation as a Federal employee more than a decade ago I became curious as to how historical forces had molded the anomalous Indian situation.

This study pretends to be little more than a skeletal outline of a deeply rooted complex subject. From the earliest settlement of America varying programs were adopted to resolve the conflict between Indian and European-American culture. Education played a prominent role in these attempts to offset the cultural resistance of the tribes as they were being surrounded and partially engulfed by a civilization alien to them, and while they shifted from a majority to a minority population group, and from occupants of half a continent to dwellers on fragments of land that often denied a subsistence living.

The aim of this marginal work is to show how poorly or how well the many programs of the settlers and, later, of the United States government realized stated goals, and also how they failed or succeeded in meeting Indian needs. Since there has been historical continuity in program-making over the centuries, and contributions from early periods were long retained, the colonial prelude constitutes an inseparable phase. On the assumption that patterns of cultural adaptation become outmoded because of environmental change, the swinging of the pendulum from high hope to dark disappointment is reviewed from a dated as well as from a contemporary point of view. Analytic studies of specific Indian groups are beginning to appear and for these the material here presented should serve as an illuminating backdrop.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to all whose kindnesses have made this book possible. Of the numerous officials of the Indian Service

who co-operated in making government records available, I am particularly grateful to Mr. John Collier, Mr. Paul L. Fickinger, Mr. J. Nixon Hadley, Mr. D'Arcy McNickle and Mrs. McNickle, and Mr. Brent Morgan. For the critical reading of the manuscript at various stages and for encouragement I am indebted to Dr. Ruth F. Benedict, Dr. George G. Heye, Dr. Ernest V. Hollis, Dr. M. E. Ligon, Dr. George Neumann, Dr. Gene Weltfish, and Dr. Clark Wissler; and I owe an especial debt of gratitude for direction and assistance to Dr. Alvin Johnson, Mr. Joseph A. Brandt, and Mrs. Doris Flowers. The maps and statistical tables were loaned through the courtesy of the Office of Indian Affairs, and the cut of the Brafferton building through the courtesy of the College of William and Mary.

E. C. A.

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## Introduction

IN INTRODUCING Evelyn C. Adams' valuable history and appraisal of the white man's schooling of America's Indians, I offer a supplementary remark.

Indian education is as old as Indian life. This means fifteen or twenty thousand years old in America. In the archaic primitive community, education was the supreme overriding social imperative. By education is here meant the forming, the releasing, and the conditioning of the personality.

Through all of pre-Columbian Indian time, *the social group as a whole* was the school of every growing mind; and consciously, methodically so. The practical and the religious, the manual and the intellectual, the individual and the social were not immured from each other but flowed as one complex integrated function within the Indian group.

The integratedness of Indian life and its fusion of the mystical with the practical, the manual with the intellectual, and the personal with the social went forward even into those great consolidations of Indian life known as the Inca Empire and its predecessor civilizations, and the Mayan, Toltec and Actec civilizations north of Panama. This fact is insisted upon in the important book, *The Meeting of East and West*, by F. C. S. Northrup, issued in 1936. Mathematical, astronomical, agricultural and engineering science was embosomed within the richly developed, complexly institutionalized religion. Religion was oriented toward the natural universe. The natural universe was considered to be organic, living, inhabited by spirit. There was no concept of "dead matter" or of merely lineal sequence in time in the Mexican thinking of Middle America or Andean Indian thinking any more than in the thinking of the Paleolithic Indian.

When Indian civilizations subjugated one another in the ages before Columbus, the victor did not try to destroy or even to subordinate the culture of the vanquished. Hence, although many civilizations blossomed and then after centuries faded away or were conquered by other Indian civilizations, the Indian spirit and culture never had to undergo violent shocks or discontinuities.

The beginnings of the European colonial rule in the New World brought exactly this kind of distress, which no earlier age of Indian life had needed to undergo. A radically different civilization not only alien to but actively hostile toward Indian powers and values, brought irresistible strength to bear, and consciously, methodically, doomed to extinction the spirit of the Indian.

There are exceptions to this generalization; Mrs. Adams in this book touches upon some of the exceptions. Almost exclusively they are exceptions created by the great monastic orders, and they stemmed from the life work of Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1566), the ablest white friend and councilor whom the Indians have ever had. In the United States this Las Casas phase of benign colonialism gave to us the vibrant and famous Pueblo Indian city-states which flourish today, as of old, along the Rio Grande.

Beginning, then, with the early Conquest years, the massive populations of Indians in Mexico and Central and South America experienced the ravage of their complex and unified life and found themselves existing—hardly living—between the two worlds of a Europe passing into its imperial and commercial phase, and a pre-commercial ancient America.

And in this condition there exist more than ten million Indians even today.

Indian education at the hands of Europe and later at the hands of the independent republics south of the Rio Grande, the United States, and Canada, appears as an attempt to substitute through the school as an institution, a new, autonomous, total environment and into this environment to transmigrate the individual Indian child and so to remake him into a European personality. Always there were exceptions but thus was the overwhelming trend of Indian schooling after the Conquest. It was the trend in the United States until twenty years ago and the trend is not wholly stopped yet.

Manifestly, the European and modern American enterprise in

Indian education represents an enormous clinical experience inviting the most exhaustive descriptive treatment and the most resourceful analysis. Such treatment it has not yet received. Evelyn C. Adams has attempted with modesty, great industry, factual scrupulousness, and a real breadth of mind, the substantial beginnings of such a needed study, mainly in terms of the United States. The Indian record of the United States is fairly representative of the Indian record of the Hemisphere. Mrs. Adams makes no pretense to exhaust a subject that probably will never be exhausted. No one would be happier than she if a work of a more wide-embracing reach and a more analytical nature should supersede her own. It is my impression that such a superseding work may not be forthcoming for a good many years. In the meantime, here is a carefully factual, a perceptive, and a devoted beginning.

JOHN COLLIER





## *Economic Conflict and Education*

THE INDIAN is America's claim to antiquity—her link with the past. The redirection of the Indian into the current of American life has been slow. He has yielded his trust in tried and proved ancient customs with natural reluctance. He has stood tenaciously apart and looked on with unseeing eyes while miracles of science were producing a modern world.

Far too long the values in Indian culture were ignored. Only recently has the horizon of social progress been sufficiently enlarged to embrace them in a broad program of Indian economic betterment undertaken as an inherent and common responsibility of democracy.

Two peoples whose environment and experience had molded differing tastes and traditions were brought together when the fifteenth century spice-seeking voyages to the orient were accidentally blocked by the American continents. The economic adjustment of the indigenous population of the New World ranged widely from a nomadic life to settlement in towns and villages, or cities as they were called. Nature, prodigal but capricious, richly rewarded hunter and fisherman in a sparsely populated wilderness.

The occidental newcomers had reached a more advanced stage of technological development. They brought with them metal tools and farming implements, and domesticated animals and plants with which to control the vagaries of nature toward a higher degree of economic security. They found mineral wealth and sought land for agriculture which was necessary to survival. But their acquisition of mines and lands infringed on the Indian hunting ground, and the transfer of tribal land involved more than a formal business transaction; lives were at stake and ancient ideals and standards were shattered.

Economic conflict between the Indian and the European settler was apparent from the beginning and it has not yet been resolved despite centuries of unrelenting endeavor in which education has always played a conspicuous role. The resolution of the conflict probes deeply into Indian culture while at the same time it is inextricably interwoven with American political and economic development. It is somberly if brilliantly colored, for the Indian has been inevitably but not always advantageously entangled in the maelstrom of American history.

The European settlers of America tried with varying degrees of success to teach their ways of worship and work to the Indians. To convert to a new religion and to teach a better way to earn a better living were constant aims of colonial Indian education, but there were other aims, too, such as appeasement and the winning of allies in international hostilities. Spain, France, and England, intent upon national aggrandizement, exploited the Indian to enhance their own economic growth and national power in keeping with the colonization policies of the times, but the harshness of the relationship was alleviated by the interest of the church in befriending the natives.

Spain needed laborers in mine and field, and Spanish educators skilfully conserved and remolded the Indian's industrial techniques. France wanted furs and improved the native hunting economy by the introduction of metal weapons. England also sought furs but her chief concern was land for colonial settlement, and she conferred with the tribes and removed them thus acquiring their land legally and morally in the eyes of lawmakers. Each of the three colonial policies contributed to the subsequent Indian policy of the United States government but the English practice of evading the issue of Indian industrial adjustment as long as removal of population was feasible, prevailed.

For a century following the American Revolution there was an adherence to military control of the tribes. Land was acquired by treaties and population removal, and schools were philanthropically left in the hands of religious organizations with the provision of only negligible and irregular Federal aid, while the government itself supported minor industrial projects to improve Indian economy.

Land runs through the account like an elusive thread of golden sand for the Indians, paralleling a thread of glittering rails of trans-

portation and swollen harvests of the earth for many financially powerful American industrialists. Naturally the Indian did not relinquish his land, his very heart's blood, without protest. But tribal coalition was always inadequate nor could the bow and arrow compete with firearms and gunpowder. Nevertheless the Indian made his presence felt in three waves of resistance. In the early days when the colonies were weak Indian hostility forced them to show some concern for tribal welfare. Later as settlement crept toward the Mississippi River the strength of a few tribes banded together was sufficient to improve the colonial policy in their favor. While national boundaries were reaching toward the Pacific the resistance of small Indian groups interfered in a minor way from the military point of view, but with enough provocation for the government to assume full responsibility in Indian Affairs.

Throughout the time that the Indians were becoming powerless before the exploits of white men they were subjected to change of habitat often complete and at times devastating. Like the tumbleweed before a prairie gale they were tossed about as the Union spread, ominously for them, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and the Rio Grande until there were no more continuous stretches of land unwanted by white settlers.

When deadly peace came tribal life was circumscribed within limited areas of reserved land which had been set aside by the government too often indiscriminately and for the benefit of white men. On these reservations the Indian mode of life remained an insoluble cultural precipitate in the white inundation. For many another population group it could have meant deterioration but the kernel of Indian communal social institutions withstood the alien impact. Racial pride was undimmed. During the entire period indefatigable missionaries with meager Federal assistance struggled to open schools of permanence among the uprooted tribes.

In 1865 the military policy was superseded by a peace policy. The influence of the church and the resentment of the taxpayer brought an end to military control and the tribes now passive were destined to endure poverty in worldly goods while much of the land reserved for their use was literally cut from under them by a Federal policy of individual allotments.

Educators worked diligently but in vain to stamp out Indian culture which was denounced as the source of Indian poverty. The

white man's technological excellence and assured individual success were cited in glaring contrast. Indian schools were replicas of white schools and were relatively meaningless to the Indians because there was no connecting bridge over which two opposing concepts of life could intermingle and advance. A subsistence economy based on individual land allotments did not take hold.

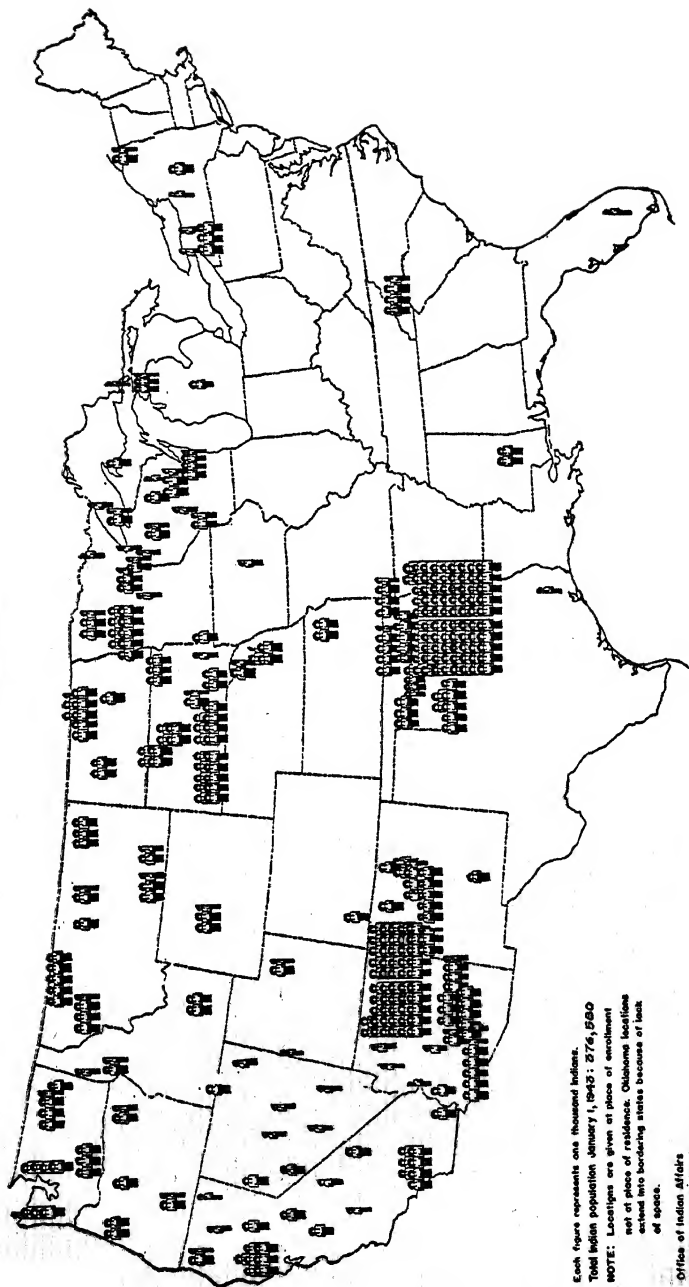
New social and economic interpretations following World War I directed public attention to the government's failure in its program of Indian economic adjustment. The anti-tribal policy and Federal paternalism were questioned and reform measures led to the reorganization of Indian Affairs for the purpose of redirecting Indian initiative and responsibility toward the achievement of rising standards of living.

Federal Indian relations are unique and complex. The Indian Service definition of an Indian is based on racial origin and tribal identification, and the self-imposed government responsibility derives from the recognition of original tribal land occupancy. The Federal supervision of more than a third of a million Indians is centralized in the Office of Indian Affairs which is an integral part of the United States Department of the Interior. The names of uncounted numbers of Indians who have found their way into the contemporary scene of American life do not appear in government records. Funds accrue to the Indian Office from Federal appropriations, stipulations in Indian land treaties, and the income from Indian-occupied land which includes the by-products of oil, timber, minerals, and so forth.

There are Indians in Alaska and in every state in the Union. The majority of two hundred tribes lives on western government reservations, chiefly in Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, and a hundred thousand or more are scattered throughout five northwestern states. A wide diversity prevails in their economic and social adjustment. Fifty-five distinct languages and many dialects are spoken. At least half the tribes are racially unmixed.

The Indians are participating rather satisfactorily in the new Federal program. They are beginning to shoulder new responsibilities and are learning modern work techniques under normal conditions. The government and the Indians are trying to work in double harness in carrying out a comprehensive economic program. But the approach is new and unfortunately there have already been reverses.

**INDIAN POPULATION**  
UNITED STATES  
January 1, 1943



Each figure represents one thousand Indians.  
Total Indian population January 1, 1943: 276,980  
NOTE: Locations are given at place of enrollment  
not at place of residence. Oklahoma locations  
entered into bordering states because of lack  
of space.

Office of Indian Affairs  
Department of the Interior

## *Colonial Prelude*

THE COLONIAL PRELUDE is an inseparable and significant part of the whole covering two thirds of the four and a half centuries. The discovery of America was accidental and its settlement was a new experience. The acceptance of the native inhabitants was inevitable because the vast expanse of the New World and the sparse colonial population eliminated the possibility of destroying them. Besides, the rising influence of Christianity was beginning to shed rays of benevolence.

Three diverse and realistic programs were developed by Spain, France, and England in dealing with the Indians, and each followed a long and winding trail. The desire of the settlers to reconcile the two opposing culture patterns placed a utilitarian emphasis on education. Although the program was often one of practical training, the unrelenting efforts of the colonists projected every general type of school that has since appeared. The policy of segregation—a perennial source of controversy—was adopted as one means of hastening Indian industrial adjustment, and the total colonial program contributed richly and with historical continuity to the policy and administration of Indian affairs in the United States.

### *The Spanish Colonial Period*

Since only the northern fringe of Spanish settlement reached within the present area of the United States a cursory glance at Spain's over-all Indian policy is needed for clarification. Spain unlike France and England was early aware of the natural resources and the extent of the New World. For her alone the rich mines were a veritable eldorado. Spain was the only nation that seriously

attempted the economic absorption of the Indians by training large numbers as laborers. Education necessarily played an important role in this undertaking as well as in religious conversion which was a major aim.

The church and the government sought a common goal and were united in a comprehensive Indian policy. As colonization spread from the West Indies over the mainland, the program for Indian education was adapted to meet the requirements of varying situations. Schools were opened for those Indians who had abandoned migratory life, while supervised settlements were deemed more suitable for wandering tribes and for frontier areas. Supervised segregation to modify Indian culture was Spain's unique contribution. It was developed in the *encomienda* under civil control, and in the mission under religious control.

Supervised segregation was supported by the government and by the friars but they soon disagreed on the question of supervisory authority. The agitation of the intrepid missionaries for the protection of native labor against what they regarded as injustices existing in civil settlements resulted in the organization of the Reform Party, and the enactment in 1512 of a remarkable piece of social legislation known as the Laws of Burgos. The Laws defined the *encomienda* as a kind of land grant to colonists that imposed upon them the guardianship of the Indians under their control. When the Laws were weakened by amendments and other less demanding legislation was passed, the friars again became critical. Resenting the restriction of their supervision to education, in civil settlements, they successfully offset the curtailment of their authority by increasing the number of their missions, and their influence grew rapidly.

The missionaries were not only scholars; they were able organizers as well. The purpose of the mission was the religious conversion and humane treatment of the natives while they were being taught to earn their living in new ways. Care was taken to win Indian confidence. The native dialect was studied and channels of communication were built up out of immediate surroundings. The acquaintance of a few Indians would be made and when their friendship was assured, they would be induced to work as intermediaries in furthering a particular plan.

Prayers translated into the native dialect as simple rhythmic

songs, and native instruments, too, were used to cater to the Indian's love of music. Straws, pebbles, grains of corn, or perhaps firm berries, were helpful in counting the words of a prayer being learned by rote. Picture symbols aided in telling Bible stories, and pleasing gifts such as a bowl of food or a bright trinket were effective rewards of learning.

The actual organization of the mission was postponed until a goodly number of the group approved. Plans were then made for the construction of a church and other buildings, clothing was distributed, and the Indians were taught to use kitchen utensils, tools, and farming implements. The missionaries preferred to improve the Indian way of life entirely by peaceful methods if possible, and only after friendly overtures had failed were they willing to be attended by a military escort. The government soon granted full authority over the missions to the friars who so ably assisted in extending the frontiers of New Spain, especially among unsettled tribes.

The Jesuit Order was among the first to segregate Indians on a large scale. The Jesuit Indian Missions in Paraguay and Uruguay, which were called Reductions, were begun in 1609 and within ten years, thirty had been established. They were designed to protect the Indians from enslavement at the hands of the Spaniards, to convert them to Christianity, to teach them self-maintenance in the European manner, and to destroy the aboriginal culture which was appalling to the friars.

These self-maintaining agricultural communities were rigidly supervised. A daily schedule under strict discipline was followed from daybreak to dusk. Contact with Spaniards was denied and the use of Spanish was forbidden. A village was planned around a great square where a church and an arsenal were located, and uniform abodes were built along straight streets lined with tropical trees. Each Indian family helped till the common lands, and cultivated a private plot of ground in addition.

Church festivals were celebrated in magnificent style. On these occasions the streets were arched with flowers and hung with mats. Birds of brilliant plumage were tethered on long cords, wild animals fretted at their chains, and fish swam in large basins as the natives sang and marched in procession. The Jesuit Reductions achieved



their objectives; and, at the same time, they demonstrated the competence of the friars as organizers and colonizers.

Religious orders worked valiantly in the fifteenth century to set up missions in Florida where they were confronted by many obstacles. The failure of the program was due largely to the unsettled state of the Indians, the absence of mineral wealth, and the resistance of the English. Success came early in New Mexico where many tribes were found living in communities. The natives were taught in a number of monasteries to read, write, sing, and play musical instruments. Crafts and trades were also taught, and in these many of the Indians were skillful and clever, and became tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, and blacksmiths. The Christian doctrine and Spanish customs were taught to all the Indians.

The community was developed by the introduction of livestock and improved farming methods. Spinning and weaving flourished. The natives were provided with tools for working in wood and stone, and a better irrigation system was installed. The Indian pueblos as they exist today in New Mexico are a part of Indian culture and also a part of Spanish influence in the bettering of it.

A tribal revolt in 1680 ended the Spanish program that had lasted more than a half century. This was the last attempt of the missionaries to impart academic learning to the natives in this general section. The wandering tribes in what is now Texas and Arizona resisted Spanish encroachment so well that the few missions established in this area were short lived.

Recognition accorded the friars had gradually increased, first, because they were competent colonizers and ably extended the frontier among unsettled tribes; secondly, because they lived simply and were inexpensive to maintain, and more often than not their establishments were self-supporting; and, thirdly, because mining and agricultural returns began to dwindle and state power to wane. At the opening of the seventeenth century the religious orders had grown so powerful that their assistance was asked in the support of the colonial government, and a century later civil authorities were directed not to interfere with their plans or achievements. By the middle of the eighteenth century when the Franciscan program was developed in California, the mission was wholly acceptable to the government.

The success of the Franciscan Indian Missions established about the middle of the eighteenth century in California is comparable to that of the Jesuit Reductions in South America. The Spanish settlement of California was earnestly begun after France was driven from the North American continent by the English in 1763 and threatening Russian forces were moving south along the Pacific coast. Spain sent out Franciscan friars to set up Indian missions as a means of extending and consolidating her northern frontier. The friars were attended by military detachments and accompanied by a small number of Indian converts, and were given authority over the California Indians except in matters pertaining to capital punishment.

The San Diego Mission, the first white settlement in California, was established in 1769, and by 1823 a chain of twenty Missions reached as far north as San Francisco. The location of a mission was determined by the density of Indian population and the accessibility of good land, water, and timber. Local natives were induced by gifts and persuasion to join the few Indian converts whom the friars had brought with them, and everyone including the friars took part in the construction of necessary buildings and the performance of manual labor. Charles Anthony Engelhardt, Fr. Zephyrin, presents an account of these missions in his scholarly work of four volumes, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*.

The houses for the Indians were made at first of poles and dried grass and were replaced later by adobe dwellings with tiled roofs. Gruel and stew were the main items of food. All clothing was made in the missions and distributed as needed. Indian men wore shirts and pantaloons of linen, and the women wore simple straight dresses over slip garments. Woolen blankets and shawls were worn as top garments by all the Indians. The Spanish workmen and overseers dressed in European fashion.

Livestock and farming implements were provided at once in developing agriculture which was the principal occupation. But the goal of the mission to become a self-sustaining community presented opportunities to the Indians to learn trades, too. They fired bricks, tiles, and pottery; made shoes, hats, saddles, and soap; molded candles, tanned hides, combed and spun wool, sheared sheep, and engaged in carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing, milling, and other kinds of necessary labor.

The women were busy with grinding corn, spinning, sewing, weaving, and the many household duties, while the children performed such chores as chasing the birds away from the orchards and vineyards. Harvests from the fields were stored in granaries and products from the shops in warehouses for the benefit of the entire community. No one received wages.

The day of toil was broken by periods of worship, rest, and recreation. The Indians marched to church, to work, and to their meals under a precisely regimented routine. A sunrise bell called all over nine years of age to religious services. Breakfast and an interim of labor followed until the two hours set aside for the mid-day meal and rest. Another period of worship ended the afternoon's work and then came supper and recreation until an evening bell called all to retire. Sundays and holidays were free from all but essential labor.

The religious instruction given to Indians over eleven years old, twice daily, and to children over five, once each day, was oral and did not require literacy. The government wanted the friars to teach the Indians Spanish as an aid in controlling remote outposts, but the friars persisted in the use of Indian dialects. As time passed Spanish was more generally spoken, and it prevailed wherever the government was in control.

The California Missions were closed a short time after Mexico gained her independence. A decree in the summer of 1833 ordered them secularized and converted into curacies, with some of the buildings designated to house primary schools and others to serve as workshops. The friars were sent to Franciscan Colleges and Monasteries outside the Mexican Republic. The Missions had achieved spiritual and material success. There had been about a hundred thousand baptisms, and in 1834 the value of movable stock was estimated at three million dollars, and the grain at two million.

When the Missions were secularized the Indians were left in a state of bewilderment. Many were incapable, without supervision, of continuing the new ways of life learned within the protecting mission walls; and because much of their old economic environment had vanished with the coming of colonial settlement they could not resume their former state of independence. A few Indians remained in the California settlements while many of those who attempted to return to their people perished.

Spanish influence on Indian culture, as compared to French and English, was by far the most lasting. Spain introduced skills, tools, and domesticated plants and animals that gave to the Indians a greater control over their environment. New work techniques and new modes of life were often adopted to good purpose by village Indians, and in some instances wandering tribes were transformed into settled communities. Native diet, housing, and clothing were improved. Architectural remains and work in stone and other material stand as a permanent tribute to early Indian skills that were either improved or acquired under Spanish direction. In the cultural transition, however, much advanced Indian civilization especially to the south was permanently destroyed. Spanish culture, perpetuated in language, crafts, architecture, and industry, continues its influence in Mexico, and in Central and South America where the densest Indian population is found today.

A historical relationship exists between the Spanish Indian Missions in California and the United States government reservation system in the west. When the pressure of white settlement during the Gold Rush to California in 1849 provoked Indian hostility, Edward F. Beale, who was the Superintendent of Indians in that State, proposed small detached supervised reservations patterned after the Spanish Indian Mission, with the religious emphasis omitted. In 1853 a small number of reservations was organized but they were of short duration.

### *The French Colonial Period*

French policy in Indian relations grew directly out of economic interest in the fur trade, and political interest in winning Indian allies against England. France looked upon the superb skill of the native trapper and hunter and their relatively undisturbed hunting grounds as real economic assets. National political and economic concern overshadowed education which was woven marginally around the government's objectives and confined to religious instruction and the imparting of the simplest French customs and manners.

The educational efforts of various religious orders for more than a century reflected perseverance but accomplished little, and finally when the Jesuits were placed in charge of Indian education during

the last century of French colonization they were required by the government to serve as diplomats. The government prohibited segregation; hence, the French missions were only loosely organized teaching centers for voluntary Indian visitors, and bore slight resemblance to the closely knit Spanish missions.

Very few Indians were engaged by the Jesuits to work in their large communal centers. Ordinarily, Negro slaves performed the manual and skilled labor in the south, and white domestic servants in the north. Academic training was neglected in New France both for the French and the Indians.

The sustained but fragmentary missionary work among the Iroquois was helpful to the government in retaining tribal military support, and it was challenging to the English who tried in vain to station competing missionaries in this buffer area. The friars' work in education continued while France extended her frontier to the west and down the Mississippi valley. The few missions established in the Michigan-Wisconsin section contributed chiefly to the consolidation of French military strength. The Jesuits were hopeful when they arrived among the Illinois tribes who were partially settled but they were disappointed in the outcome of a half century of labor which had of necessity conformed to the government policy of winning Indian allies.

Many religious orders were stationed in the large southern region of Louisiana, where the Jesuits, because of their experience and success in winning Indian friendship, were placed in charge of the natives. Their work here was definitely of a political nature, because France was continuing her struggle with England, and the tribes were involved just as they had been in New York.

England, in the meanwhile, was strengthening her hold in the south by trading with the Indians. She had learned from her New York experience that the Jesuits were capable of tilting military alliances, and she also fully realized that if France won southern Indian support she would threaten not only trade but political control as well. Consequently, English and French contact with southern Indians was concerned primarily with conquest and had little bearing on the economic improvement of the tribes.

Three phases of the French program were of importance. First, the Indians as trappers and hunters were essential to the colonization program, and because of the government's opposition to seg-

regation, the French mission was a fragile institution. Second, the ability of the friars to make friends of the Indians was incomparable, and the French people themselves lived on neighborly terms with the tribes. The Indians had no economic reasons for resentment against the French since not only were their hunting grounds protected, but in addition, the hunt was improved by the introduction of metal equipment and was commercialized to the mutual advantage of the Indians and the French. It has been conjectured that if England had not waged war against France, who so bitterly opposed the extension of agriculture, the westerly moving farm-seeking American colonists would have been forced to do so. The third important phase of the French program was the demonstration of working with Indians in their own setting, a policy that is uppermost today in the United States Indian Service.

Indian culture naturally was modified by the close association of the French people with the tribes. Firearms and farming implements were brought in, cereals and fruits were grown, Indian women improved their sewing, and the Indian language was enriched by French words and idioms.

The education program displeased the Jesuits but it satisfied the government. The Jesuits were denied the opportunity of training Indians in the way practiced by the Order elsewhere. Perhaps their disappointment was made the more bearable by two kinds of success that rewarded their labors. They amassed material wealth and they firmly established their church. The government, too, reaped a twofold benefit. Its Indian allies aided in prolonging the retention of New France in the face of British opposition, and the development of the fur trade enhanced national economy.

### *The English Colonial Period*

The differing religious and political leanings and the varying economic interests of the English colonists roughly divided the Indian education program into three parts. The southern provinces of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia which were agricultural, were occupied mainly by Anglicans and Royalists. New England, which lay in the region of the fur trade, was settled by the Puritan supporters of Cromwell. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, which were also within the fur trading region, were settled by An-

glicans, Puritans, and other religious bodies. All the colonists wanted land on which to establish homes, and the encroachment of settlement frequently provoked Indian resentment and armed protest that ended local programs in education.

English efforts to educate the natives included training in colonial homes and abroad, in boarding and day schools, in institutions of higher learning, and in a few Indian communities organized in Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The program was supported by missionary societies, private contributions, special charity funds, and colonial land grants. Missionaries representing different church groups gave religious and academic instruction. Industrial training was arranged in exceptional instances.

The education program began in Virginia. The two charters of the Virginia Company issued in 1606 and in 1609 stressed the conversion of the Indians, and the Company soon provided ten pounds in currency for each Indian boy instructed in a colonist's home. But the colonists complained that they could not obtain many Indian children in a peaceable manner because the parents were so deeply attached to them.

The more promising Indian boys were sent abroad until the treasurer of the Virginia Company objected to the practice on the ground that the returning students failed in their work as missionaries. The George Ruggles fund of some five hundred pounds, and another fund collected by Bishops in England in 1617 were invested in an iron furnace or smelter, as a source of revenue for education.

By 1621 plans were well under way for the Indian College at Henrico, and the East India School for Indians, at Charles City. The Virginia Company laid off a tract of land on the north side of the James River for the College and arranged a grant of land for the School which was partially supported by a contribution from the East India Company. The School was set up to prepare the Indians to enter the College. Both projects were suddenly ended by an Indian uprising in 1622 which destroyed the town of Henrico and Charles City. A long period of unfriendliness toward the tribes followed.

Peaceful relations between the colonists and the Indians prior to 1622 were due to the friendship between Captain John Smith and Powhatan whose daughter, Pocahontas, married John Rolfe. After Powhatan's death a brother planned the uprising in 1622. There

was an interim of peace until 1646 when the brother led another revolt and was killed.

Attempts were made a few years later to appease the Indians by protecting their land. Legislation stipulated in 1656 that land was not alienable by the Indians without the approval of the General Assembly, and in 1658, that no land would be granted to the colonists until fifty acres had been reserved to each Indian Bowman who was also to be given hunting privileges on waste land. About the same time, land began to be reserved to Indians in New England.

From 1622 to 1693 education was provided only for children held as hostages or taken into homes as slaves. In 1663 the General Assembly allowed twelve hundred pounds of tobacco annually for the education of hostages according to their individual capacity.

At the end of the seventeenth century Indian students were admitted to the College of William and Mary, and in 1714 a school was built at Christ Anna for Indian children. The Indians attending the College lived in nearby private homes until the Brafferton building was erected for them in 1723. They were maintained by private charity and were instructed apart from the English students. The enrollment gradually fell off and had practically ceased at the time of the Revolution when the withdrawal of the English charity fund ended the Indian College.) The Brafferton building was effectively restored in 1933 by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and is now one of the most interesting on the Williamsburg campus.

The school for Indians at Christ Anna, a fort reservation, was the only one in Virginia located among the tribes. The trading company controlling the settlement built the schoolhouse and helped with other expenditures. The Reverend Hugh Jones reported the excellent progress of the school. But in 1718 when the privileges of the trading company were rescinded, the House of Burgesses ordered the school closed. Governor Alexander Spotswood's official letters, which were published by the Virginia Historical Society in 1885, tell of his keen interest in the school and his futile protest against its abandonment. There were no further attempts to provide schooling for the Indians in Virginia and the dwindling native population soon removed the need.

The meager program attempted among the tribes in the Carolinas and Georgia came to naught because of British emphasis on



trade, the hardships of the wilderness, the institution of slavery, Indian uprisings, and intercolonial strife. Education was assigned to clergymen who were maintained by missionary funds but no plan was formulated. Many of the twenty or more Anglican ministers stationed in the Carolinas died and none was successful in working with the tribes. All efforts were abandoned when the Tuscaroras in North Carolina revolted in 1711, and the Yamasees in South Carolina became hostile soon after.

The Reverend John Wesley and a few other missionaries confined their work in and near Savannah, Georgia, to the colonists. The Moravians labored among the Indians near Savannah from 1735 until 1739 when their religious vows not to engage in military conflict forced them out at the time England declared war on Spain.

(In New England Indian children were instructed in English homes, self-ruling Indian communities were organized, and an Indian College was established in connection with Harvard College. Colonists in whose homes Indians were employed as servants, or to whom Indian youths were apprenticed by law, were required to instruct them in the Christian faith. A Connecticut law imposed a fine on those families neglecting the obligation. Young Indians were instructed in the homes of the Reverend John Eliot and the Reverend Eleazer Wheelock, two of the most eminent leaders in Indian education in New England.)

(The Reverend John Eliot, a brilliant young graduate of Cambridge University, who looked upon Christianity, civilization, and learning as inseparable, devoted his life to Indian welfare in Massachusetts.) He established nine self-sustaining Indian communities which were known as villages of praying Indians. The Indians took part in all work connected with the communities. Streets were laid out, lots measured off, orchards planted, and each village was developed economically according to its setting.

The first village was planned at Nonantum in 1649, and the village at Natick, the chief town, was laid out in 1651 with a land grant of six thousand acres. A quarter of a century of progress came to an end when King Philip led an Indian revolt in 1675. Many Indians fled in defeat to Canada and New York, and some of those taken captive were distributed among the colonists as slaves.

The Indian College in connection with Harvard College was established in 1654. The New England Missionary Society contributed a hundred pounds for the building which was thirty feet long and twenty feet wide, two stories high, and ample to accommodate six boarding students. Success did not attend the undertaking. Daniel Gookin, Superintendent of Indians in Massachusetts, reported that some of the students returned to their homes, and many died. A few became schoolmasters, one became a mariner, and another a carpenter. One boy named Caleb, who was the only graduate, died soon after receiving the Bachelor of Arts degree.

The building was eventually used to house white students and in 1684 a printing press was set up in one of the rooms to print Eliot's translation of the Indian Bible. When the building was razed in 1698 the proceeds from the sale of the bricks went toward the construction of another building in which schooling would be free to any Indian student thereafter attending Harvard College, but because of war and migration few Indians remained in New England.

A second systematized program of Indian education was developed in New England during the middle of the eighteenth century. The Reverend Eleazer Wheelock, a graduate of Yale University and a Congregational minister, founded Moor's Charity School for Indians in 1755, in Lebanon, Connecticut; and Dartmouth College in 1769, in Dresden, now Hanover, New Hampshire.

Wheelock's policy of Indian education was in sharp contrast to that of Eliot, who organized Indian settlements. Wheelock offered missionary training to Indian students in boarding schools far removed from tribal environment, and he later displaced Indian students with white students to be trained for missionary work among the tribes. Both Indian and white graduates were to work in such missions as they themselves could organize. Wheelock's teaching staff was competent and his schools were generously supported by a Scotch missionary society, grants in land and money, and individual contributions.

Moor's Charity School was opened in a small two story building located on two acres of ground donated by Colonel Joshua Moor. The upper floor was used as a lodging for Indian boys, and the lower as class rooms. Students were enrolled from the distant Iroquois and Delaware tribes, while a few came from New Eng-

land. The boys were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, English, Greek, and Latin. Industrial training was minimized but the boys assisted with the school work whenever necessary. Wheelock was of the opinion that returns from student labor did not warrant the expense of teaching and the general wear on tools and farming implements.

Indian girls lived in English homes in the neighborhood to learn housekeeping and sewing, and went to school one day a week to learn to read and write. The girls, too, were to be missionaries and it was hoped their influence would prevent the boys from reverting to tribal ways when they returned to their people.

The enrollment at Moor's Charity School ranged from an estimated maximum of a hundred and fifty to a little more than half that figure. Samson Occom who studied in Wheelock's home for twelve years before he entered the school became the most renowned of Wheelock's Indian students. In 1766, he accompanied the Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker to England and Scotland where their appeal for funds to be used for the education of Indians was rewarded by gifts amounting to some twelve thousand pounds. Occom broke with Wheelock over the New Hampshire plan to train white missionaries and fewer Indians. After the Revolution, he migrated with remnants of New England tribes to New York and established a settlement at Brothertown where he died in 1792.

Wheelock's graduates worked mainly among the Iroquois. Sir William Johnson, Indian Agent in New York and an ardent Anglican, patronized Wheelock's school only because there was no other. But Sir William finally expressed his dissatisfaction and claimed that many of Wheelock's missionaries were lapsing into native habits and customs. This criticism seriously curtailed Wheelock's influence and after 1765, he rapidly lost students. In 1767 the Reverend Samuel Kirkland was his only white representative among the New York tribes, and without the co-operation of these Indians Moor's Charity School was doomed.

It was at this juncture that Wheelock decided to move to Dresden, New Hampshire, where he founded Dartmouth College in 1769. There were two reasons why the new location was chosen. Wheelock was unwilling to relinquish the use of the Scotch fund which was based on Indian enrollment, and he was well aware that few Indians remained in New England, and that the Iroquois would

no longer patronize his school. Therefore, he planned to seek students from nearby Canadian tribes. The second reason was that Governor Winthrop of New Hampshire had offered a large tract of land that could be used for the support of a new school, and also for training students in agriculture.

Indian education was a secondary concern of Wheelock after he left Connecticut but he successfully appealed to the Continental Congress for funds to enroll Indians at Dartmouth College in the interest of peace, and credit is due him for his efforts, until his death in 1779, in the earnest support of the American cause.

The perpetuation of Moor's Charity School during this second and somewhat nebulous phase of its existence had to do with the retention of the use of the Scotch fund which was controlled by the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. A series of successful negotiations made its support of Indian education at Dartmouth College secure until 1893. In 1901 the Society voted to withhold the fund from the Dartmouth project, and in 1922, a Scotch Court authorized the diversion of the remaining money to the Society's general program. By this legal decision, the exclusively educational use of the fund, the purpose for which it had been raised more than a century and a half previously by Ocom and Whitaker, was ended.

Moor's Charity School had been housed in one building in 1791, but until 1898, when the building was sold to Dartmouth College, it had been attended chiefly by local white students. Finally the Supreme Court of New Hampshire turned over to the College certain funds that had accrued over the years, and in 1915 Moor's Charity School ceased to exist. Prior to 1893, probably less than a hundred Indians in all were enrolled at Dartmouth College. One of the most notable was the late Dr. Charles A. Eastman, of the class of 1887, who was a scholar of distinction. Dr. Eastman married Miss Elaine Goodale. Mrs. Eastman is the author of many volumes and studies pertaining to Indians.

A third and final division of English Indian education includes the work in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. New York colonists were well aware of the strength of the Iroquois, the mightiest Indian confederacy in the English colonies. These tribes were located strategically along the French frontier, and their con-

tribution to the English fur trade was important. Furthermore the French Jesuits had worked among them with some degree of success.

No appeal to the homeland to send out missionaries was more desperate or more neglected than that of the New York Anglicans. They warned that Iroquois hostility was increasing partly because their request for English missionaries had been ignored. There were two reasons for the delay in sending out English missionaries. First, colonial administration developed slowly. A Secretary of Indian Affairs was not appointed until 1696 and the Anglican Missionary Society did not extend its program to include Indians until 1701. The second hindrance was the paucity of ministers qualified to work among the tribes in a manner comparable to the French Jesuits with whom they had to compete.

Catechizing Schools and missions were organized at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Society opened a Catechizing School for Negro and Indian children in 1704 under the direction of Elias Neau, a French Protestant. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught in addition to the catechism. In 1726 catechists were sought for about fourteen hundred Negro and Indian slaves. The Indians began to complain in 1715 that their children bound out for a limited time to be taught by Christians were being sold into slavery and in 1750 the Governor of New York ordered that all children held as slaves or pledges be returned to their parents.

The first Anglican missionary, the Reverend Thoroughgood Moor, arrived in Albany about 1701 but the Mohawks refused to receive him and on his voyage back to England he was lost at sea. Three years or more elapsed before the arrival of the second missionary, the Reverend Thomas Barclay, whose periodic visits to the Mohawks so pleased them that they asked for resident missionaries. In response to their request Fort Hunter was built forty-four miles from Albany, and it became the most successful Anglican mission in New York.

The Mohawks themselves built the schoolhouse, and by 1712 many children had learned to read. But when the tribes began to take their entire families with them on the hunt, interest in the school waned and it was suspended in 1719. It was reopened in 1735 and the mission flourished as an Anglican stronghold until the end of the Revolution. In 1771 Anglican ministers were stationed at Fort Hunter and Schenectady, and the Reverend Samuel

Kirkland was at Fort Stanwix, while Johnstown was without a missionary.

Sir William Johnson and the Reverend Samuel Kirkland were preeminent in the work among New York Indians. Sir William came to New York in 1735 to manage an uncle's estate in the Mohawk valley. He soon became interested in the Indians and was appointed Agent for the Iroquois and other northern groups in 1756. The tribes were supplied with farming implements and taught more modern ways of tilling the soil. Although Sir William was an Anglican he was so eager to set up Indian missions that he accepted Wheelock's Puritan missionaries from 1761 to 1767. His death in 1774 on the eve of the Revolution was a blow to the British cause and Indian welfare.

The Reverend Samuel Kirkland was the most noted white missionary that worked among the New York Indians. He was the son of a Connecticut minister and was educated at Wheelock's School at Lebanon and at Princeton University. After living among the Mohawks for five years he went to the mission field of the Oneidas where he remained for forty years. He was a chaplain in the Continental Army. After the Revolution he built an academy that became Hamilton College. The academy was to enroll Indian and white students but there is no evidence that Indians attended it. Nor were Indians enrolled in King's College which was the forerunner of Columbia University, and the only institution of higher learning in New York prior to the Revolution.

An interesting but relatively brief project was developed among the Delaware Indians in New Jersey by the Reverend David Brainerd and the Reverend John Brainerd, two brothers maintained by the Scotch fund. The former organized a settlement at Bethel, near Cranberry, in 1745 for the purpose of making the Indians self-maintaining. In a short time thirty children were attending the school during the day, and fifteen adults in the evening.

David Brainerd died in 1847 and the work was continued without interruption under the direction of his brother John. Within two years the Indians had cleared eighty acres and planted half the tract in corn. Indian boys were taught to farm and girls to spin and knit, in what were called working schools. The boys were also apprenticed to learn trades. The village was about a half a mile square.

The New Jersey project ended in 1753. The pressure of white settlement made it necessary to remove the Delawares and about three thousand acres were bought for them in Pennsylvania where dwellings and meeting-houses were constructed and mills set up. When the second plan was ended during the Revolution, the Delawares emigrated to New York. In 1832 many of them went to Wisconsin and drifted further to the west.

Only one of the two institutions of higher learning in New Jersey enrolled Indians. At least three Indian students attended the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, but Indians were not enrolled in Queen's College which became Rutgers University.

William Penn received little co-operation from his brethren in Pennsylvania when he discussed Indian education with them and he also failed in his attempts to discuss religion with the natives. There is no record of Indians attending the schools that finally became the University of Pennsylvania.

During the last half of the eighteenth century the Moravians worked in Pennsylvania setting up a number of self-maintaining communities for themselves with similar ones adjoining for the Indians. Unfortunately this program of Indian education was too nearly coincident with the French and Indian War and the American Revolution to survive. Many Indians were involved as allies of opposing forces, and some of those who preferred to remain neutral met death at the hands of their own people.

The relationship between the Moravians and the Indians was among the most harmonious in the colonies. The Moravian religious vow not to bear arms was sanctioned by the British Parliament in 1749. Their pacifist convictions and refusal to defend themselves during the colonial war years inevitably interfered with the permanence of their work. Their failure, because of their lofty ideals, seemed all the more tragic.

In summary, England's primary aim was colonial settlement, and the modifying of Indian culture was secondary to this purpose. Nevertheless native culture was permanently influenced by English trade, and the introduction, often as gifts, of tools, agricultural implements, and weapons of war—three contributions that facilitated fishing, hunting, and farming.

Education was overshadowed by the major policy of negotiating

with the tribes as political units, and recognizing their ownership of land. The land policy of reserving to the Indians specific areas, the removal of the native population, and the purchase of what was deemed excess land often made possible the total evasion of education.

The educational work that was undertaken was hampered by the slowness in centralizing colonial administration, government indifference, and the frequent unfitness of English clergymen to teach Indians. Interdenominational strife, too, impeded the program, and educational plans were terminated at times by Indian uprisings against white encroachment.

Wheelock's boarding school established away from Indian environment was not unlike the non-reservation boarding school adopted in the United States in 1879 but there is no historical connection between them. The former was more or less tied up with Wheelock's personal ambition as an educator, while the latter was an outcome of the anti-tribal policy of the United States Indian Service. The social and economic organization which characterized Eliot's New England Indian villages, the Delaware communities, and the Moravian settlements resembles the goals of the current integrated program of the government.

The most important influence of the English policy came out of its continuance after the Revolution. This continuation can be partly accounted for by the fact that the territorial jurisdiction of the new government was the same as that of the English. Unfortunately the inadequate and unrevised inherited policy held sway far too long.

### *Significance of the Colonial Prelude*

Under colonial tutelage some Indians became literate, some were converted to a new religion, and a few became missionaries among their people. Favorable environmental change and industrial adaptation were enhanced by formal and informal education programs, by trade, and by association with the Europeans who knew how to use metal tools and implements, and who were accustomed to rely on domesticated food supplies whenever possible.

Diversity in the three programs resulted logically from the variance in ecclesiastical leanings, national political objectives, and the economic nature of the areas settled. The colonists intent on self-



aggrandizement were preoccupied with pelts and homes in the north, plantations and trade in the south, silver and gold in the southwest, and adequate food production for all their settlements.

Colonial Indian education aimed to make converts, to train missionaries, and to produce laborers skilled in European work techniques. Academic instruction was reserved for the ministry, religious instruction was universal, and industrial training was practical. Indian youths and adults were instructed in the homes of the settlers, in missions and settlements, in day and boarding schools, and in local and European institutions of higher learning. The program was so encircling that the major types of schools have not since been added to.

The higher or academic instruction of the natives of New Spain was provided by the colonial churches or monasteries. Only Spanish and Creole students were admitted to the University of Mexico, and a similar policy prevailed in New France where Indians were not enrolled in the University of Quebec. In the earliest days France and England sent young Indian students abroad but the plan was short-lived and unsuccessful. Indians in the English colonies attended Harvard and Dartmouth Colleges, Princeton University, and the College of William and Mary.

Industrial training was made an integral part of everyday labor and was related to the economic interests of each nation. Spain's large scale mining and agricultural enterprises depended upon native labor which was segregated near the mines, and also on the haciendas and in the missions where agriculture flourished. The rigid daily schedule and close supervision hastened the transmitting of new skills and the improving of native techniques. Because the labor was made a part of the national economy the Indians acquired new and adaptable work habits that enabled them to earn their livelihood in the European manner. France reversed Spain's policy and incorporated many of her colonists in the Indian hunting economy. The French government protected the Indian hunter and trapper in the pursuit of game and forbade the capable educators to train the natives industrially.

The Indians were economically essential to Spain and France but they were incidental in the English scheme of colonization. The English colonists for the most part used their own labor or Negro slave labor. They showed minimum concern in Indian industrial

adaptation as long as settlement could be extended by the purchase of tribal land and the removal of the native population.

English encroachment on Indian land provoked uprisings in Virginia, New England, and the Carolinas that intercepted or terminated education programs. The total colonial program was ended in a series of impressive departures. The French Jesuits were banished in 1763 and the Spanish Franciscans in 1833. The French were expelled in 1763 and the English departed following the American Revolution.

Despite the two and a half centuries of colonial endeavor to modify Indian culture the majority of the natives remained untutored in the European sense and their basic economy was unchanged. Indian political and religious concepts had not been fundamentally altered. Communal land ownership and tribal organization continued and the native gods conceived in crises of struggle for survival still met the spiritual needs. This was true because there were extensive land areas still unsettled and also undiscovered by the Europeans, on which the tribes could pursue unmolested what to them was the normal mode of life.

The Indians within the settled areas, after long experience with the Europeans, were less bewildered by foreign customs. For a long time the tribes had chosen sides in colonial strife and when, finally, they realized that the colonists intended to stay in America, some of them readily opposed the new United States government. This opposition the government countered by military control.

The predominance of British influence on the Indian policy of the new government was natural, since the newborn nation had been under exclusive British rule with the exception of the brief early Dutch regime. In addition to military control whenever necessary, the new Indian policy carried over from the British the following: a partially centralized administration, field supervision by government officials, the reserving of land to the tribes, the purchase of tribal land, the removal of Indian population, the higher education of Indians in colleges and universities, and the assignment of education among the tribes to missionaries.

Perhaps it was the best policy possible for the English. The significant feature is that the government held on to the inherited policy too tenaciously and did not revise it often enough or well enough to meet Indian needs that changed constantly during the rapid expansion of the new nation.

## *Partial Government Responsibility*

### *1776-1870*

CERTAIN unique elements have characterized Federal Indian relations. The new nation like the colonies was concerned with selfish development; and yet, in spite of the government's slowness in assuming outright responsibility for Indian welfare, its interest has always been shown in compensating the tribes for land, and in supporting the theory that the Indian can be improved by education. Nor has there ever been a policy of racial discrimination.

Because of the recognition of tribal land occupancy the government was involved financially in Indian Affairs from the beginning. For a long time the main policy revolved around the shifting of the Indian population to meet the changing situations, especially when the Indians' presence impeded national growth.

Three giant steps in land manipulation were destined to cross the future century of Indian history punctuating it with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the Indian Removal Act in 1830, and the rapid acquisition of national territory accompanied by western white settlement from 1845 to 1865. The impact of these manoeuvres in national expansion on Indian economy was serious and in some instances produced cataclysmic results.

### *The Period of the Revolution*

Indian education received government aid immediately after the colonists revolted. The concentration of military strength against Great Britain was the paramount issue and it was up to the interim government to win the support of as many tribes as possible. Ministers and teachers maintained by congressional funds were stationed among the Indians to serve as diplomatic agents.

The Continental Congress authorized the Indian Commissioners in 1776 to engage a minister and a blacksmith for the Delaware Indians, and also to ascertain the terms under which Jacob Fowler and Joseph Johnson would serve as teachers among the New York Indians. No attempt was made to send ministers or teachers among the southern tribes who were in open sympathy with the British, nor did the Ordinance of 1787 for the governing of the territory northwest of the Ohio River refer to the education of the tribes in that region.

Funds were appropriated in the interest of peace by the Continental Congress for the maintenance of Indian students at Dartmouth College and the College of New Jersey which is now Princeton University. Eleazer Wheelock received five hundred dollars in 1775 for the support of Indians at Dartmouth College, but a second request of his was rejected. However in 1778 the Board of War directed that other requests of Wheelock be complied with, and in 1780 it recommended a grant of five thousand dollars. The College of New Jersey received congressional aid in 1781 for three Delaware Indians.\*

The efforts of the missionaries and teachers bore slight but telling results in winning Indian support during the Revolution. Samuel Kirkland, John and David Brainerd, Samson Occom, Jacob Fowler, Joseph Johnson, and others worked successfully among the tribes. The Oneidas, Tuscaroras, and Stockbridge Indians adhered faithfully to the colonial cause and were rewarded in the treaty of 1794. But the Mohawks remained steadfast in their loyalty to England. The concerted action of missionaries and teachers had tilted the balance in favor of colonial victory, and another feature equally significant was the use of congressional funds for Indian education not so much as a voluntary contribution but as a matter of expediency in the political and military crisis.

\*In July 1781 the Continental Congress authorized the payment of a hundred and thirty-seven pounds for the support and tuition of three Delaware Indians, George M. White Eyes, and John and Thomas Killbuck. According to a story handed down by the author's Virginia ancestry and recorded in copies of the unpublished papers of Lyman C. Draper, in the Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky, George White Eyes, the son of Chief White Eyes, had a brother Joe who was very handsome, while George himself was homely. The White Eyes were well known in the community. George grew rich by trading deerskins and trifles to his people for banknotes. He was killed by a white boy about 1806, and Joe, in his resentment, killed the settlers' livestock.

*1789-1830: Federal Subsidy for Indian Education*

The native population that came under the control of the United States government was made up chiefly of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras known as the Six Nations of New York; the Delawares in the basin of the Delaware River; the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Seminoles, or the Five Civilized Tribes in the south, and the Illinois tribes in the Northwest Territory. Few Indians remained along the Atlantic seaboard, but in the western wilderness they were sufficiently numerous to imperil white settlement for at least two decades.

The administration of Indian Affairs was placed in the United States Department of War when it was organized, and the Secretary of War took the place of the Committee which had served since 1775. The two field districts that were laid out in 1786 under bonded territorial superintendents with duties relating to trade and conciliation were retained. Indian education remained under the exclusive supervision of missionaries until 1793 when resident agents appointed at the time by the President took over small practical educational projects that were subsidized by the government.

The American statesmen came to grips courageously and at once, with the numerous problems confronting them. Since it was a major aim to consolidate the political and economic strength of the new democracy, the Indians were logically included. Indian economic betterment through practical training was of primary interest. The education of the tribes was deemed essential in keeping them friendly, in helping them become self-reliant and self-maintaining workmen, and for their self-preservation.

There were no illusions as to the difficulties inherent in this undertaking, for the close contact of the American leaders with the Indians made them aware of the confounding and disturbing contrast between the pioneer's mode of settled life and the Indian's unsettled existence, each of which had developed out of its own time and circumstances.

The first report of Secretary of War Knox set forth in graphic detail what he held to be suitable and necessary steps in developing a program of Indian economic betterment. The Secretary was no

empty phrase-maker nor did he resort to snap judgment. He advocated military control as an essential policy but not as an exclusive one. It was a matter of common knowledge, he said, that the advance of white settlement had destroyed game which was a vital part of Indian economy, and it was partly due to this change that the Indian population along the Atlantic seaboard had diminished.

Secretary Knox explained that the teaching of improved methods of agriculture to the tribes would demand great knowledge and much time, for the procedure would differ from that commonly used to teach white farmers. He suggested that as a beginning the chiefs be presented with domestic animals and that they be instructed by teachers how to use them. He added that even if the academic teaching of resident missionaries did not succeed too well, the presence of the missionaries would contribute to peace, and the small expense of maintaining them compared favorably with the cost of military troops.

President Washington in his third annual message in 1791 maintained that the economic improvement of the Indians depended in part on the regulation of trade with them, and also on "rational experiments of imparting to them the blessings of civilization." Soon after, Washington recommended the appointment of agents to reside among the Indians and emphasized the desirability of "an eligible plan for promoting civilization among the friendly tribes."

Federal funds for practical training of the Indians were made available through executive order, congressional appropriations, and treaty stipulations. Washington ordered five hundred dollars expended annually from 1792, for the purchase of clothing, domestic animals, and farming implements, and also for the employment of useful artisans to reside among the Six Nations. In 1793 an appropriation of not more than twenty thousand dollars annually was authorized for the purchase of domestic animals and farming implements, but the national treasury was lean, and in 1802 the maximum was reduced to fifteen thousand dollars annually.

Treaties with the Indians varied widely, stipulating cash annuities to be paid over a specified time, or perpetually; rations and clothing; farming implements and domestic animals, and instruction in agriculture along with other educational opportunities. The missionaries were maintained by their society funds and by treaty

funds, and they also received various forms of Federal aid, such as housing or additional land. The mission school supplemented the Federal program of practical training.

The response of the Indians to the government's proposal to train them was not at all uniform. The New York tribes, who for a long time had been used to missionaries' work among them, anticipated the government in asking that their children, too, be sent to school. In January of 1791 the Seneca Chiefs Cornplanter, Half Town, and Great Tree requested of Washington, "the Great Councillor of the Thirteen Fires," that their men be taught to farm, run mills, and build houses; their children to read and write, and their women to spin and weave. Less than a month had passed when the same chiefs proposed that nine Seneca boys be sent away to be educated, but the Secretary of War replied that the President preferred to send a schoolmaster among them.

In a treaty negotiated in 1794 with the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians, the government agreed to set up a gristmill and a sawmill, and to provide suitable persons who would run them for three years, and would also instruct the tribes. Some of the provisions of the treaty were in the nature of a reward for military aid rendered during the Revolution. The Oneidas, some time later, offered four hundred acres of land for the use of a resident minister.

The southern Indians were indifferent to the government's proposal made in 1789 in tribal council, that missionaries be sent among them to open schools. The chiefs claimed that many of their sons who attended colonial schools did not turn out well. A little later the Creeks and Cherokees consented to receive interpreters, and as time passed, they accepted domestic animals and farming implements. In 1801 two smiths, a spinning teacher, a loom maker, and a weaving teacher were assigned to work among the Creeks.

The influence of the French Jesuits was evident in the treaty negotiated with the Kaskaskias in the Northwest Territory in 1803 which set aside seven hundred dollars for the support of a Catholic priest to instruct the children. A treaty drawn up with the Delawares at Vincennes in 1804 provided for a cash annuity and the employment by the government of persons to teach agriculture, fence-making, and "other domestic arts."

Slight mention was made of education in treaties during the next decade and a half when Indian hostility was the rule. White set-

tlement that reached toward the Mississippi River following the Revolution was steadily opposed by the tribes because it interfered with the fur trade between them and the British. The Indian counterpart of the War of 1812 ended in the Battle of Tippecanoe and the defeat of Tecumseh, a British sympathiser, who led the last organized protest in this area.

Two dependable sources of revenue were established for Indian education in the appropriation of the Civilization Fund in 1819, and the designation of treaty annuities specifically for education in 1820. The Civilization Fund was an annual appropriation of ten thousand dollars to be used for the education of frontier tribes. The President was authorized to appoint instructors in agriculture and teachers for the children, and the missionaries were to continue their work in academic and practical training.

In order that the government might better apportion the Fund according to the number of pupils enrolled, and for two-thirds of the cost of necessary buildings, reports were required of schools already established and of those contemplated. All persons employed in schools were to support the Federal Indian policy and aid in placating the tribes. The proposal of John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, that cash annuities designated for education be provided in Indian treaties received favorable action in 1820.

Missionaries had earnestly continued their labors from colonial times and their relationship with the government was harmonious. The organization in 1810 of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions by the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Dutch Reform Churches was the first interdenominational step in the field of Indian welfare. The organization was usually referred to simply as the American Board.

The first system of boarding and day schools to be proposed was submitted to the government in 1820 by the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury of the American Board. A total of seventeen thousand dollars was set aside for the construction and equipment of schools among the Choctaws, and six thousand dollars were made available annually for their maintenance. The plan called for four boarding schools and thirty-two day schools. Each of the former was to accommodate from eighty to a hundred students and each of the latter from twenty to forty students.



One large school and five small ones were to be built each year. Three boarding schools and twenty-four day schools were to be located east of the Mississippi River, and the remaining west of it. The Report stated that many children would need support, and that "all must be initiated in the habits of industry, and a portion taught the mechanic arts."

Missions for Indians were established in 1820 and 1821 west of the Mississippi River by the American Board at Dwight, Arkansas, among the Cherokees; and by the United Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church at Harmony, Missouri, and at Union, in the Indian Territory among the Osage tribes.

The promising situation was outlined in at least four official reports. Jedidiah Morse was commissioned by the President in 1820 to make a personal field investigation with reference to the removal of Indians to the west of the Mississippi River, which was being agitated. Morse reported that there were ten schools among the southern Indians, a number of mission schools in New York, Indiana, and Ohio, three new missions west of the Mississippi, and the Foreign Mission School located at Cornwall, Connecticut. The total school enrollment was approximately a thousand.

Morse estimated the Indian population at three hundred and fifty thousand, a fifth of which was found between the Mississippi River and the Appalachian Mountains. Progress among the New York Indians was attributed to schools and mills provided by treaties. Tribes north of the Ohio River were already moving westward, and five military posts had been established among the Michigan and Wisconsin Indians in the interest of peace. The growth in southern schools led Morse to predict that success would attend educational work among the tribes after their removal.

In March 1824, the Secretary of War reported that there were twenty-one schools and the enrollment was about eight hundred. All but four of the schools had been opened since the appropriation of the Civilization Fund which had provided more than a sixth of the eighty thousand dollars expended by the missionaries.

A report the following December from the newly created Indian Office showed totals of 261 teachers, 916 students, and thirty-two schools. The large number of teachers reported was due to the practice of including every member of a missionary family down to each child. Nearly seven thousand dollars of the Civilization Fund

had been expended within the year. In 1825 the Indian Office reported that six additional schools had been opened and the enrollment was approximately a thousand.

Organized missionary work and increased Federal subsidy had produced an auspicious setting for Indian education and a tentative policy had appeared. All Indian schools receiving Federal aid were to be located among the frontier tribes and were to be conducted by missionaries. Instruction in the industrial arts and academic subjects was compulsory. The required annual reports made possible the fair pro-rating of funds and served also as a supervisory device to guarantee government standards.

### *1830-1845: Removal of the Indians*

Plans for the removal of eastern tribes to lands west of the Mississippi River to clear the way for the expansion of white settlement had long been contemplated. In 1804 Jefferson had considered the possibility of locating some of the eastern tribes in the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase. Following the War of 1812 Indians north of the Ohio River were gradually moved across the Mississippi, and a treaty with the Choctaws in 1820 exchanged some of their southern land east of the Mississippi for other land west of it. The Removal Act was passed in 1830, and within ten years some seventy thousand Indians had been transferred. Expense incurred by removal was defrayed by the government, and treaties were drawn up with all the tribes substituting new lands for old, and providing annuities.

Preparation of the numerous treaties delayed until 1834 the passage of the Act defining the western Indian country which lay along the fertile valley of the Arkansas River. This tract was an unbroken stretch, and each in a series of reservations was assigned to a specific tribe. The Indians were granted the privilege of hunting on the unassigned area which was intended for the later settlement of the wandering western tribes. The Removal was inevitably attended by hardship, illness, and often death, in addition to complete economic disruption.

Increased Federal activity in connection with the Removal necessitated the appointment of a Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1832. The Indian Office had been created in 1824 but no title was

given to the head official. The Department of Indian Affairs was organized in 1834, additional officials were appointed, and new agencies were set up in the field. The Office of Indian Affairs, consisting of a central administrative unit and a field service, exercises exclusive jurisdiction over Federal Indian relations. It is frequently referred to as the Indian Bureau.

Although schools were necessarily suspended for a period during Removal, government interest in education did not wane. Substantial treaty annuities were set aside for education but no additional Federal appropriations were made. The missionaries looked forward uncritically to the resumption of their work. The American Board appointed the Reverend Samuel Parker to tour the western country in 1835 for the purpose of gathering information that would be helpful in planning schools and missions. Parker reported that the living standards of the Plains Indians fell below expectations, and he predicted that a dense white population would eventually settle the region he had visited.

After a period of patient planning, the education program took form. The manual labor school was introduced, the mission school continued, certain tribes set up their own schools, and the government and the missionaries worked together in providing practical training for adults.

The manual labor school, the specific contribution of the period, was a boarding school located among the tribes and partially subsidized by the government on condition that manual labor be included in the formal schedule. Official reports advanced many arguments in favor of the new school. Its location among the tribes would please not only the government but the Indians as well, for they had always resented distant schools that separated their children from them. Some of the teachers were convinced that segregating the children would facilitate disciplining them away from tribal habits, and that the school would at the same time modify the customs of the community.

Funds heretofore used to send boys to non-government schools could be advantageously diverted to the support of the manual labor school which enrolled both boys and girls. Besides, the State schools which the boys had attended had not fitted them to improve the tribal methods of agriculture. Finally, the students'

labor would decrease the cost of the school, the boarding school would partially relieve the economic situation of distress, and Indian opposition to education generally should be overcome by the successful demonstration of training the students in the kind of work that was needed.

The course of study in the manual labor school consisted of "letters, labor and mechanic arts, and morals and Christianity." Academic instruction went "hand in hand with the acquirement of a practical use of the tools for the artisan and the implements of the farmer." Some of the schools were opposed to academic training but none excluded it. In fact, some of them offered advanced academic subjects in addition to primary and intermediate grades.

Mechanical training was incorporated in the course of study for the first time in the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. After years of experience with the original academic course of study Director Thomas Henderson, an able Baptist minister, suggested workshops for those students mechanically inclined. Henderson's plan was adopted in 1834 when a brilliant Choctaw Chieftain, who had an excellent school record in the Academy, ardently insisted that the tribes needed skilled workmen as well as educational leaders.

The Choctaw Academy was a fair financial project for Colonel Richard M. Johnson on whose bluegrass plantation in Scott County, Kentucky it was located. It was supported by per capita fees paid by the government from treaty annuities.

Johnson's lifelong participation in State and national political affairs culminating in the Vice Presidency under Van Buren in 1837 afforded him rare opportunity to keep in close touch with the early organization of the Indian Office, the removal of the tribes, and the setting aside of treaty annuities for education. His keen interest in student welfare, and his pride in maintaining school standards are evident in hundreds of his letters to Henderson, which are in the files of the Filson Club in Louisville, Kentucky. The Academy trained many Indian leaders but it gradually lost patronage after tribal removal and its doors were closed in 1842.

The first manual labor school west of the Mississippi was established in 1839 at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, by the Methodist Episcopal Society. The government preferred small schools located in compact Indian settlements but the principal set up a large boarding school to serve the scattered tribes. The school con-

trolled four hundred acres of land. Nearly half of it was planted in corn, and twelve acres were planted in orchards. Shawnee Indians split thirty-seven thousand rails to fence the school land.

The school offered religious, academic, and practical instruction. Six hours were spent daily in the classroom, and six at work on practical projects. The boys worked on the farm and in two shops, and the girls attended to domestic affairs and studied under the direction of expert teachers of spinning and weaving. The manual labor that was a part of the daily schedule was suspended on Saturdays and Sundays. The students arose at four o'clock in the morning and retired at eight at night.

In 1844 the same missionary society opened a manual labor school in the abandoned barracks at Fort Coffee, on the Arkansas River, in which students were to receive higher training after completing primary work in a proposed system of district schools. There were two separate units: the girls' school known as New Hope Academy, and the boys' school situated about five miles distant. Sixty acres of land were enclosed as a school farm. Six hours were devoted to academic work daily and two and a half hours to manual labor.

Another manual labor school of particular interest, because it was the first reservation boarding school, was opened on the Yakima Reservation in 1860. The site was the abandoned barracks at Fort Simcoe, in Washington Territory. There were eight large buildings, a large corral, stables, and lesser buildings which had originally cost about eighty thousand dollars.

Two years later when the agent withheld his approval of the use of annuity funds for the board and clothing of the pupils, the school was closed. But his interpretation was soon overruled and the school was reopened. The missionary society in charge reported that the pupils were plainly clad, and their simple fare did not include coffee, tea, or sugar. The annual cost of maintaining each pupil was thirty-five dollars. The agency farm of some five hundred acres was cultivated by the Indians and the hope was expressed that the school would eventually become self-supporting.

The mission school, the oldest type, offered religious and academic instruction, and required all students to perform some kind of labor although not as a part of the regular school schedule. The

missionaries were criticised by the government for not including practical training in the course of study; and also for failure, at times, to support Federal Indian policy.

The mission day school was patterned after the white day school. Pupils lived with their parents with whom they received industrial training after school hours. The missionaries met the Indians on friendly terms and encouraged them to take part in a community program of a practical nature. For example, at the day school at Lac-qui-parle, Minnesota, the missionaries plowed for the Indians, who in their turn, made rakes, swingled flax, and did the spinning and weaving. There was a general attempt to meet the requirements of differing situations. Advanced academic subjects were pursued when warranted in the larger mission schools.

The school for the Winnebagos illustrates the tedious transition of a mission school into a manual labor school, and the complications involved in two removals. Many of the Winnebagos were removed from Wisconsin to Iowa from 1832 to 1839, and then from Iowa to Minnesota in 1848. A treaty of removal in 1832 provided neutral land in Iowa not far from the Wisconsin border.

A schoolhouse was built by the government and in 1834 the Reverend David Lowry, the Presbyterian head of the school, reported two children in attendance. There had been a third pupil, an orphan boy offered by a wandering tribe, but after a skirmish they had departed taking the child with them. Six pupils were enrolled the next year, and the school staff consisted of the principal, a teacher, an attendant, and a matron whose annual salaries totaled a trifle over a thousand dollars.

In 1838 there were eleven boarding and twenty-five day pupils. The latter lived in wigwams and received rations at the end of the day and clothing as needed. All pupils were taught to spell, read, and count. The girls sewed two or three hours daily and the boys tilled the garden and fields.

The Winnebagos were so reluctant to leave Wisconsin that another treaty was drawn up in 1839 setting the fifteenth of February as the last day of rightful stay. The new treaty set aside twenty-eight hundred dollars for another school building in Iowa near the site of the old one. In 1839 there were seventy-nine pupils and four of them could read well. In a short time one hundred and fifty acres of land were under cultivation, two tracts were enclosed,

and several Indian families were growing crops of corn. Sewing was the only form of practical instruction for girls although a few had learned to cook while living with the school families.

A manual labor school was contemplated in 1846 and regular periods of farm work were assigned to the boys. The school progressed until it was finally moved in 1848 to Long Prairie, Minnesota, and in 1850 when it began to receive Federal aid as a manual labor school, the boys spent two hours daily in the schoolroom, and the remainder of the time in cutting wood, planting, and harvesting crops. The girls devoted most of their time to sewing, laundering, cooking, and knitting, and just one hour daily to formal study. Eighteen years had elapsed since the Winnebagos began to leave Wisconsin. After two removals they were now established on new lands in Minnesota, and the incorporation of manual labor in their school guaranteed additional Federal aid.

The tribal school was a type that appeared following the Removal. It was wholly or largely under tribal supervision and was maintained in a number of instances exclusively by tribal funds. The Cherokees established a flourishing school system of twenty-one schools and two academies. The schoolhouses were built by the people, and in 1852 enrollment reached eleven hundred. There were many A, B, C, Darians.

The Choctaws inaugurated a comprehensive school system in 1833 by building twelve log schoolhouses. Higher schools were planned at the time to offer manual training and advanced instruction, and four years later the tribe stopped sending boys to the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. The Choctaw school report of 1847 listed the following academies and seminaries: The Chuahla Female Seminary, Wheelock School for Girls, Norwalk School for Boys, Igunobi Female Seminary, Koonshu Female Seminary, Armstrong Academy, Spencer Academy, Fort Coffee Academy, and its counterpart the New Hope Academy for Girls. These schools were supported variously by tribal, missionary, and Federal funds. The Choctaws carried out a novel educational project in teaching the three R's to adults as well as to youths, in seven community schools.

Teachers were engaged from the east to take charge of advanced academic work in the seminaries and academies. In the Choctaw

Agency music was taught in the Norwalk School for Boys on the same plan as that of the Boston Academy. Astronomy was taught in the Wheelock School for Girls, near Fort Towson; and Latin and music were taught in the nearby Spencer Academy for Boys, which was a manual labor school requiring the students to work two and a half hours daily. Latin, botany, algebra, and vocal music were taught in the Cherokee Female Seminary; and Latin, French, Greek, algebra, and elocution, as well as the violin, flute and clarinet, in the Male Cherokee Academy. These two tribal schools were located at Tahlequah, in the Indian Territory.

The Creek tribal school system was developed conjointly with missionaries. The Chickasaws postponed the organization of schools until about 1855, and the Seminoles until about 1860. Several hundred tribal day and boarding schools were transferred in 1906 to Federal supervision.

A fourth classification of Indian education during this period was a program for the practical training of adults which was supported both by the government and the missionaries. The work was carried on either within a neighborhood or on an agency farm. Missionaries had concerned themselves from the beginning with advancing the total community. The agency farm, sometimes called a Pattern Farm, was under the direction of farmer teachers appointed by the agent. The government tried to develop an apprenticeship type of training for the Indians but crop production usually eclipsed the instructional phase of the program.

For example, the work on Agent John Beach's Pattern Farm of more than a hundred acres in a fertile Iowa valley among the Sac and Fox tribes was performed by white farmers, mechanics, and laborers, with little Indian participation. In 1840 Agent Beach reported that the Indians were skillful workmen in the blacksmith shop although they were not inclined to assist with the farming. He was confident then that they would eventually show active interest in the new agricultural methods being used. But in a half dozen annual reports that followed reference was made to excellent harvests of corn, wheat, beans, potatoes, pumpkins, and other crops sufficient for the subsistence of the Indians and their flocks, and slight mention was made of Indian participation in farm work.

In spite of setbacks, the general outlook in education was prom-



ising. Schools had trebled in number and in enrollment in less than a quarter of a century. The confidence expressed in the manual labor school as a means of Indian economic adjustment was not wholly unwarranted. In 1848 there were sixteen manual labor schools in operation and seven additional ones were under construction. There were eighty-seven other schools, and the total enrollment exceeded thirty-five hundred. All students performed some kind of labor either within or outside of school hours. Adults, too, were being taught to work like the white man. Funds seemed to be ample, but adverse days lay ahead.

### *1845-1870: American Territorial Expansion and Industrial Growth*

The new framework for Indian economic improvement had scarcely fallen into a workable pattern when its foundations were ripped from under it by rapid national territorial and industrial expansion. This was one of the most brilliant periods of United States history although it was incarnadined by two major wars and western opposition to Indians.

The Indian country served as a buffer area between the United States and Mexico until 1848 when it became a barrier to western economic development. The acquisition of approximately a million square miles bounded by the Indian country, the Pacific Ocean, Canada, and the Rio Grande doubled the Indian population of the United States between 1845 and 1854. Many new and powerful tribes were included with whom government treaties were negotiated to provide annuities and reserve land for their use.

White settlement spread to the Pacific. Homesteaders and adventurers were lured westerly by the Mormons' successful demonstration of land values in Utah in 1846, and the discovery of gold in California in 1849. The government added encouragement by offering free lands to permanent white settlers in the Homestead Act, in 1862, and by subsidizing the construction of transcontinental railroads the same year.

The construction of the first railpad to the Pacific from 1862 to 1869 was one of the chief interests behind the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 which created two territories stretching vertically across the Indian country thereby ending its continuity and reduc-

ing it to less than one and a third million acres. The government had granted the first transcontinental railroad thirty-three million acres, and from 1850 to 1871 Congress voted some hundred and fifty million acres to railroads in general although all were not transferred. The continued building of western transportation lines with branches radiating through Indian reservations interfered with Indian settlement.

The Indians, no longer naive, viewed the infiltration of white settlement with alarm. To them it had only one meaning—encroachment on their lands; and naturally there was resentment. Occasionally migratory gold hunters were killed and passing caravans looted. Mining towns were transitory affairs but railroads were a symbol of permanence. Military troops protected construction gangs against Indian attack, and when such attacks occurred, reprisals by whites followed.

The bitterest grievance of the Indian was the wanton destruction of the vast herds of buffalo which were the main source of his food, clothing, and also ready money from the sale of pelts. The railroad workers subsisted on the buffalo; the big game hunters had their day; and finally, the leather industry slew for the hide, leaving the carcass to rot in the sun. None of this was conducive to peaceful relations.

The United States Army was called out to subdue the Indians. Open conflict or treaties or a combination of the two involved the Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Crows, Assiniboin, Kiowas, Apaches, and other tribes. There were skirmishes and bloodshed, and much bitterness was voiced. The army was charged with brutality and the desire to exterminate the Indians. It was accused of not differentiating between Indian hunters and bands of marauders, of attacking villages of helpless Indian women and children while the men were absent on the hunt, and of too often obliterating Indian villages at night when the inhabitants were asleep.

The adherents of military control rejoined that government officials were more interested in spoils of office than in Indian welfare, and held that civilian support of the policy of conciliation only strengthened Indian resistance and prolonged the struggle. But coercion was not succeeding too well in bringing about peaceful relations. Military expenditures were running into high figures,

and church groups were gaining ground in their demands for more effective methods of dealing with the Indians.

In 1865 a Congressional committee was appointed to tour the west. It reported in detail the miserable state of the diminishing tribes, the failure of the government's work among them, the slight influence of schools, and the discouragement of teachers and missionaries because of the futility of their sincere efforts.

The committee recommended reservations and education as a more humane and less costly policy than military control to meet the needs of the tribes. Yet it felt that military control was necessary at the time, especially among the more hostile Indians. Boarding schools remote from native environment, and the services of farmers, teachers and missionaries were considered essential. The appointment of field inspectors to aid in conciliating the Indians, and also to correct administrative abuses, was suggested, and the existing Federal appropriations and treaty annuities were thought to be too meager to support a revised policy.

In 1867 Congress directed the Indian Peace Commission to make recommendations for the permanent removal of the causes of Indian hostility so that white settlement would be safe and railroads could be built. The Commission's report in 1868 attributed Indian hostility to the government's failure in meeting its part of the obligations set forth in Indian treaties, and to the provocation of land-seeking pioneers.

The Commission urged that treaties should be binding, and they proposed that fertile reservations be set aside for the Indians in order to curtail tribal migration and control white encroachment. Bearing in mind Indian impoverishment and the rapid destruction of game, the Commission designated two arable tracts on which agriculture and manufacturing, too, could be developed, and it emphasized the importance of enforced school attendance, the substitution of English for Indian dialects, and the services of farmers, mechanics, millers, and engineers.

Peace and Indian economic betterment were to be sought through reservations and education. As a consequence of the extension of white settlement in the far west and the breaking up of the original continuous Indian country, the present detached reservation system was now in the making. The twofold purpose of

the reservation was the provision for Indian settlement on a defined area of land suitable for agriculture, and the strengthening of government control over Indian and white encroachment for mutual protection.

The government Indian reservation is not a free land grant. The value of the land is guaranteed to the Indians while the title to the land is retained by the government. Tribal occupancy of a reservation is voluntary. A tribe may move away and return at will but the removal of a tribe by the government involves monetary compensation for the area vacated, or the substitution of other land.

The rapid onrush of western development cut short the time for careful deliberation and in spite of the fact that Indian private ownership of land had long been contemplated by the government, the crisis resulted in the adoption in good faith of the detached reservation system. Agencies were promptly set up and the immediate distribution of sorely needed rations and blankets tended to bring peace.

Many complications arose. The liberal Federal expenditures tempted traders, agents, and contractors to practice fraud and collusion in handling supplies. Selfish interests awarded fertile lands more often than not to the white man, leaving verdureless arid tracts for the Indian. The barren soil, the Indian's lack of experience in technological agricultural methods, the destruction of game, and the general bewilderment of the tribes who had been relentlessly shunted about are some of the reasons why government rations and other aid came to be more and more necessary for the indigenous group that had supplied its own needs for centuries. A Sioux chief once said that the government should put the Indians on wheels to expedite and simplify the process of removal.

Indian schools were adversely affected. When the Department of the Interior was created in 1849 it was predicted that the manual labor school would advance the tribes in the newly acquired territory equally with those tribes among whom schools had already been built. But it was acknowledged a little while later that under the prevailing unsettled conditions educational progress could not be commensurate with the expenditure of energy and money. On the other hand it was anticipated that the manual labor school would function successfully as soon as the tribes were settled.

Although the Indian population had been doubled between 1848

and 1868, the report in the latter year of 109 schools and an enrollment of forty-six hundred showed a gain of only six schools and a thousand in enrollment during the two decades. There was another unfavorable point. The report of 1848 showed that the number of schools and enrollment had trebled during the preceding quarter of a century.

The manual labor school which was originally intended for tribes that were settled was put on trial and it is to its credit that it survived during the period when the Indians were in a highly mobile state, for in surviving it gave continuity to the Federal policy of industrial training within the school.

### *A New Indian Situation*

A complete change took place in the Indian situation as the boundaries of the Union widened and reached from coast to coast. The mass of the Indian population was now located west of the Mississippi River. The tribes stationed on detached reservations had been brought under government control by military force and land manipulation that favored white settlement. For more than a quarter of a century the central issue in Federal Indian Affairs was to prevent the Indians from impeding national expansion to the west.

National growth had precipitated two profound upheavals in Indian economy. The removal of a large eastern native population hundreds of miles to the west successfully cleared the way for the consolidation and security of national territory extending from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi River and at the same time it ripped the tribes from their economic foundation. And scarcely was the unbroken western country newly occupied when it was shattered by a wave of western white settlement that reached to the Pacific Ocean. Since white settlement made further large scale removal of the tribes impossible, and no land remained free from white encroachment, a new and definite land policy emerged in the detached Indian reservation system.

Schools were maintained chiefly by missionary funds and by tribal funds accruing from government land purchase. Two unique features were entrenched—the boarding school and student labor, each of which had been indispensable from the earliest days because

of the unsettled Indian mode of life, and the ruggedness of the ever-receding frontier. In 1825 there were twenty-seven schools and a thousand students, and in 1868 each of the figures had been quadrupled. But the gains were insufficient in view of the vast acquisition of new territory, and the consequent doubling of the Indian population.

For the Indians it had been a chaotic era attended by removal, rations, reservations, and warfare. They had been shunted about and had lost control of the broad land on which they had been self-maintaining. Two voices deploring the outcome were raised in their behalf. The taxpayer and churchgoer vigorously opposed military control of the tribes; the former because of the cost, the latter because of its inhumanity, and each because of its failure to calm Indian resentment.

Government officials were poorly acquainted with actual reservation conditions and were ill aware of the Indians' desperate economic plight. The Federal program had been devastating to Indian economy but there still remained one slight but important vestige of genuine government interest. Gratuity Federal appropriations had been negligible, nevertheless they had not ceased, and a portion was always designated for practical training which was required in all Indian schools receiving government aid. Now that Indian open resistance had very nearly subsided a Federal policy of conciliation stressing economic betterment was soon to be adopted which meant government assumption of new responsibilities in Indian Affairs.

## *Full Federal Responsibility*

### *1870-1921*

PRESIDENT GRANT'S Peace Policy to achieve "the civilization and the ultimate citizenship" of the Indians was preferable to the preceding one of coercion but it harbored two major discordant elements. It denounced Indian culture and it failed to integrate the Indian Service. The prolonged program to eradicate Indian culture as the primary source of Indian impoverishment failed because it attempted to superimpose outright and quickly a semi-technological work pattern without taking time to relate it to latent values within the older pattern. The procedure ignored one of the cardinal principles of social change, that is, that social progress is a process of growth from old to new practices of worth.

Land legislation and education paralleled each other, never converging in their common aim, and as a result, Indians were not properly trained to cultivate either their communal landholdings or the small individual plots that were later allotted to them. Furthermore, the land policy itself proved to be disastrous in bringing about a terrific loss of Indian land, while schools, because of their regimentation, became relatively ineffective.

The contributions inherited by the new administration from the preceding period were meager but they were of some benefit. The Indians were relatively quiet, the reservation system had begun to function, the manual labor school was an important carry-over because it represented the Federal policy of practical training, and the retention of the Indian Office in the Department of the Interior tended to strengthen the program of conciliation.

President Grant's adversaries agitated persistently but in vain for the return of the Indian Office to the Department of War. It had been logically transferred to the Department of the Interior

which was created in 1849 to handle problems in connection with the extensive areas of western land acquired after the War with Mexico. The recognition of the original land occupancy of the large new Indian population imposed immediate and complex financial obligations upon the government.

### *Personal Field Supervision and Annual Appropriations for Education*

Field service because of its neglect was an aggravating heritage of the new administration. Prior to 1869, it had received little attention. Washington officials had only slight knowledge of field conditions, and personal supervision was non-existent. Field service in Indian Affairs has always been a stubborn problem, and even after personal supervision was introduced, it was prone for a half century to accent headquarters rather than the field itself. This important phase of Indian Service was not made a real issue until after World War I, and not until 1934 was it reinterpreted and reorganized to function with an acceptable degree of efficiency.

Personal field supervision began in 1869 with the creation of the Board of Indian Commissioners, a lay group made up of ten prominent citizens appointed by the President. The members served without pay but the government bore the expenses incurred when they traveled in an official capacity. They supervised annuity payments, inspected agencies, and made recommendations for the improvement of Indian Service. The Board was abolished in 1933.

Federal field representatives consisted of inspectors appointed in 1873 under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior, and special agents appointed in 1879, with duties similar to those of the inspectors. The results of the new personal supervision to improve field service were disappointing partially because the authority of the Board of Indian Commissioners was semi-official, the government inspectors and agents served only in an advisory capacity, and all three groups were, in many instances, inadequately trained to cope with the problems that confronted them.

The brightest ray in the gloomy picture was the passage of a legislative measure destined to be of lasting importance. In 1870 Congress authorized the first annual appropriation for Indian education. A hundred thousand dollars were set aside for the support



of industrial and other schools among tribes not otherwise provided for. Many tribes were without schools at the time, and ten years later there were fifty thousand Indians in seventeen agencies that had no treaty school funds such as those that had been generously arranged when the large Indian population was removed to the west of the Mississippi River.

### *1870-1889: A Period of Orientation*

No overall plan for Indian economic adjustment was projected. Instead, attention was given to immediate problems, and to others as they arose, or more accurately as they were recognized. There was much fault-finding and slow rectification. Prolific official reports revealed the yawning gap between the central office and the field where the agent and the missionaries were only slightly disturbed by the few newly appointed intermediaries.

The agent was the most colorful government figure in Indian Affairs. A partisan appointee and often an unscrupulous one, he held sway for more than a century (1793-1908). The post was a heritage from the English colonial period and for many years the agent was the only government representative residing among the Indians. His agency was his kingdom. When the Department of Indian Affairs was organized in 1834, he was the most important field official, and the zenith of his power was reached in 1870 when superintendencies were abolished.

The agent's record in supervising large government expenditures was not unblemished. In one agent's report in 1832, more than three hundred thousand dollars remained unaccounted for. In 1865 the agent was forbidden to take the records with him on relinquishing office, and when Federal appropriations began to increase in 1870 other controls were put into effect. A law was passed in 1875 requiring the transfer of records of expenditures to the succeeding incumbent, so that they might be inspected at any time. The agent's salary reports were so unsatisfactory that another law was passed the same year directing him to state under oath that the employees enumerated were actual and bona fide. Two years later he was instructed that money stipulated for the salaries of employees was not to be diverted to other use.

The agent was not discriminating in the appointment and sus-

pension of personnel. In distributing spoils of office he frequently appointed those who were poorly qualified, and he showed preference for his kinfolk. Incredible mathematical errors and faulty spelling appearing in the reports of untrained employees provoked official criticism that was futile. Improvement in personnel standards was slight until 1892 when Civil Service was introduced into Indian Service.

In 1869, President Grant, in an effort to secure better qualified agents, designated religious organizations in the field to appoint them, but after a decade of trial the plan was abandoned as unsuccessful. Increasing field supervision tended to curb the agent's authority until the discontinuance of the post in 1908.

The government criticised the denominational strife among the missionaries, and their insistence on using native dialects in their schools. Mission schools continued to be in the majority for a number of years pending the government's development of its own school system, and during this period they were generously subsidized. President Grant tried to control the interdenominational competition by assigning a specific reservation or area to a certain group.

Concerning this problem, Commissioner Edwin T. Smith expressed the opinion in 1873 that the government's authority was limited to extending to one religious organization the privilege of nominating an agent and through him, the appointment of the employees of the designated agency. This was an administrative procedure only, and the co-operation of the denominations in teaching various faiths to the Indians was a question to be decided by the organizations themselves. But the strife did not abate and in order to keep peace among the religious societies, a ruling was finally adopted forbidding religious intrusion after a field had been definitely assigned to a particular denomination. Problems of this kind decreased as government schools grew in number.

The language controversy was disinterred from its colonial tomb. Some of the religious organizations supported the bilingual policy in opposition to the government, which required all school instruction to be in English. In 1879 two missionary societies were threatened with the withdrawal of Federal aid unless they complied with government regulations. The use of the Bible in the Indian tongue

was approved after 1888 in those schools in which religious organizations assisted. As many mission schools were gradually displaced by government schools, the language controversy subsided, and active interest in native dialects did not reappear until the enactment of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934.

Adoption of the most suitable type of school became a major issue. The government preferred the industrial boarding school located among the tribes, but it was to be called a manual labor school only a little while longer. Training of the youth was the immediate aim. The adjustment of the adult was considered a temporary problem. It was thought that four or five years of boarding school experience with its rigid discipline would eradicate the young Indian's disorderly habits. The preference for the boarding school was supplemented by the denunciation of the day school on the ground that the influence of its surroundings could not be counteracted by even the best efforts of the teachers. The Board of Indian Commissioners heartily agreed with the government.

United States Commissioner of Education John Eaton, Jr. advocated boarding schools equipped with workshops and farming land, and suggested that day schools be constructed only as needed. He proposed another type of school—one that would offer higher education to a larger number of Indian students than it had been possible to enroll in state schools. The proposed training school would offer instruction in academic subjects and in industries to students who would return to their tribes as teachers and workers worthy of imitation.

It was this general idea that was put into effect when, in 1879, General (then Captain) Richard H. Pratt opened the first non-reservation government boarding school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. This new type became known as a training school, and the term manual labor school was no longer used.

The Carlisle Indian School had a casual and almost accidental beginning. General Pratt hit upon his educational theory while in charge of Indian prisoners at Fort Marion, near St. Augustine, Florida. Here, the Indians far removed from native environment and held under close supervision, so rapidly adapted themselves to new ways of working and living that penal restrictions were soon lightened.

The prisoners were pleased with their progress and seventeen of them on being released from the Fort asked to attend school. In 1878 they were admitted to the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. This was an industrial school for freed Negroes which was established in 1867 near Old Point Comfort, Virginia, by General Samuel C. Armstrong under the auspices of the American Missionary Society. It was patterned after the industrial mission schools that General Armstrong's father had developed among the natives of Hawaii to teach them to speak English and to work. The former prisoners were the first Indians to be admitted to Hampton where Indian students continued to be enrolled until 1912. The satisfactory work of the Indians at Hampton induced Commissioner E. A. Hayt to propose the school at Carlisle.

General Pratt opened the Carlisle Indian School on November 1, 1879, and in a short time one hundred and fifty-eight students were enrolled. Half the day was spent in industrial training and in work on the farm which was an integral part of the school. The students performed all the institutional work.

When the student completed his school training he was placed with a white family for three years. The government paid fifty dollars a year for his medical care and clothing, and his labor was to compensate for the benefits derived from the home situation. In many instances wages were paid and a strict accounting of receipts was kept by the school. The Outing System, as this apprenticeship training was called, finally gave way to the placement of competent students in suitable situations.

The Carlisle School was always an elementary school offering vocational courses in agriculture, mechanics, and nursing. It became one of the best known government schools for Indians and was particularly famous for its department of athletics. The Carlisle football team played successfully against teams of numerous leading universities, and many Indian athletes gained international recognition.

Among Carlisle students who made athletic history were Jim Thorpe, a winner in Olympic games; Louis Tewanima, a Hopi from Arizona, who was one of the fastest marathon runners in the world; Charles Albert Bender, a baseball pitcher who participated in a number of World Series, and there were others. The Carlisle School was closed in 1918 and the old barracks and new buildings

were used in the government's rehabilitation program for veterans of World War I.

The government attempted in vain in 1881 to enroll Indians in land grant colleges. When finally it seemed impossible to find schools already established which would offer Indians a home, industrial training, and academic instruction, the conversion of abandoned military barracks into Indian schools was proposed. A legislative measure in 1883 granted to the Indian Service the use of buildings at Fort Stevenson, Dakota; Fort Hall, Idaho; Cantonment, Indian Territory, and Fort Ripley, Minnesota. Satisfaction was expressed in the plan in which the school boy would take the place of the soldier, and the sword would give way to the spelling book.

Growth in the education program and the increase in Federal appropriations warranted a centralized administration of education. J. M. Haworth, the first Inspector of Indian Schools, was appointed the first Superintendent of Indian Schools, but within a few months he succumbed to a critical illness, and in 1885 the Education Division was organized by his successor, John H. Oberly.

The Medical and Education Division which had been established in 1873 as a filing center for field correspondence and other pertinent data, was reserved in 1877 exclusively for medical reports, and from that date until 1885 documents pertaining to education were filed in the Civilization Division. The Superintendent was not the head of the Education Division but shared advisory authority with the Chief Clerk.

Superintendent Oberly presented the first comprehensive discussion of Federal Indian education. In his annual report in 1885 he observed that Indian education had evolved without centralized direction, the Federal administrative service had been inadequate, and the agent was not qualified to serve in the field of education. He discussed the advisability of adopting uniform textbooks and uniform teaching methods. He was of the opinion that uniform school buildings were preferable to the makeshift abandoned barracks, portions of agency buildings, sheds, warehouses, and other undesirable quarters that were being used to house schools. He advocated the boarding school because it accommodated the majority of Indian children and made it possible to take them away from the

Indian camps while they were young and susceptible to training. He proposed compulsory attendance and mentioned the need of a reform school for incorrigible Indian students.

The first step toward the improvement of the school personnel by the use of the merit system of appointment was taken by Superintendent Oberly whose interest in this matter was sustained throughout his successive incumbencies as Superintendent of Indian Schools, United States Civil Service Commissioner, and Commissioner of Indian Affairs. In 1885 he prepared a statistical card requiring the applicant for appointment in Indian schools to state that he was a graduate of an educational institution, held a teacher's certificate, or had received other formal training of a similar nature.

### *1889-1893: Preference for Boarding Schools*

A period of orientation had passed and government Indian schools swung into action during the administration of Commissioner Thomas J. Morgan from 1889 to 1893. The brief period was filled with unceasing labor that was rewarded by the achievement of immediate objectives. Commissioner Morgan was zealous, dynamic, articulate, courageous, and optimistic. He was an administrative strategist. The Superintendent of Indian Schools, Daniel Dorchester, was not unlike Commissioner Morgan, and he likewise held strong convictions. These two sincerely interested officials made field tours to gather first hand information as a basis for their program.

In 1889 the Indian population was estimated at two hundred and fifty thousand but only one hundred and eighty thousand were under Federal supervision. The New York Indians who numbered about five thousand had transferred from Federal to State supervision in 1882, and the Five Civilized Tribes or Nations numbering about sixty-five thousand maintained an independent school system. The school population under Federal supervision approximated thirty-six thousand, but the recorded school enrollment reached only 10,500, and these figures challenged the administration.

Superintendent Dorchester and Mrs. Dorchester, who had been appointed Special Agent in the Indian School Service, traveled six thousand miles in two months in 1889 while compiling the first

comprehensive official field report on Indian education. The joint report disclosed that twelve schools out of twenty had never been visited by an Indian Office representative; many teachers were incompetent; there were no assembly rooms for the students; the provision for health, sanitation, and recreation needed to be improved, and among the supplies in the commissaries there were in one school pins enough to last a hundred years, and flat irons for a generation, and in another school there were size forty-two overcoats which no boy could wear. The following year, Commissioner Morgan himself made a tour of inspection.

The proposals made in the reports of the two tours of investigation brought about more careful field supervision, the issuance of the first codification of school rules, a course of study, and the adoption of the merit system of appointment. Five assistants to the Superintendent were recommended in 1889, and three years later, six field supervisors were appointed.

In 1890, Miss Elaine Goodale who later married Dr. Charles A. Eastman, was appointed the first Field Supervisor of Indian Schools. The first field matron was appointed in 1891 with duties pertaining to "everything connected with domestic work." Her program was carried out through a system of intervisiting between her home and the homes of the Indians. This type of service was gradually specialized and is now carried on by nurses, welfare workers, and teachers of home economics.

The Codification of Rules for Indian Schools appearing in 1890 dealt with the aims and administration of schools, and the appointment, removal, promotion, and duties of personnel. A course of study and a list of textbooks were appended. Enrollment was limited to those Indians between the ages of five and eighteen whose families lived on reservations.

Attendance was compulsory and the agent was responsible for keeping the schools filled by persuasion if possible, by withholding rations or annuities from parents, and by other measures if necessary. Dorchester frowned on irregular and objectionable methods of enforcing attendance, and in 1893 the Secretary of the Interior, instead of the agent, was empowered to withhold rations and annuities. Disciplinary measures were severe. Pupils over twelve years of age who were guilty of extreme misbehavior might either receive corporal punishment or be imprisoned in the guardhouse.

"Unusual, cruel, or degrading punishment" was prohibited. However, school jails were not abolished until 1927.

The aim of the school was preparation for citizenship. The course of study was planned primarily for the boarding school and was to be adapted for use in the day school. It was a ladder arrangement covering a period of eight years. During this time primary pupils were to attend reservation schools for the first four years and non-reservation schools for the second.

Personnel was improved in 1892 by the adoption of the merit system of appointment and educational leave with pay. Up until that time the majority of school officials and teachers had been appointed for political or personal reasons. The first Civil Service Classification included physicians, school superintendents, assistant superintendents, teachers, and matrons. In 1896 all employees of Indian agencies and all school employees except agents, day laborers generally, and the personnel of the Civilized Tribes were included. The personnel of the Civilized Tribes was not included until 1926.

The Rules for Indian Schools issued in 1892 authorized educational leave with pay for fifteen days except to day school personnel. Within a short time the leave was granted to all school personnel and in 1922 it was extended to thirty days. Six years later sixty days were approved in alternate years. In 1893 the school superintendent took over the educational duties that had been formerly assigned to the agent.

A sincere effort was made to develop the type of school that would destroy tribal ways and train the individual Indian to earn his living like a white man. The School Rules of 1890 stated that the government school was a temporary provision to serve the Indian until he could attend a white school. The following year, Indians were enrolled in public schools.

Slight reference was made to the unpopular government day school. The choice lay between the two types of boarding schools, the reservation and the non-reservation. Commissioner Morgan preferred the non-reservation boarding school because it removed the students entirely from their native environment.

Superintendent Dorchester defended reservation boarding schools on the ground that they protected the youth from the detrimental influence of his home surroundings, and at the same time



it did away with the difficulties in adjustment so frequently experienced by those students returning from distant schools. He maintained that the reservation school benefited the older Indians too, who learned "only by little and slowly." He insisted upon building "more at the base and less at the apex" and held that training a few children in distant schools and returning them to the reservations was something like trying "to fill the bottomless pit with shavings."

Commissioner Morgan opposed contract schools because of the illegality of appropriating Federal funds for the aid of religious bodies in the propagation of their faith. The contract school was a subsidized mission school that served during the time when the government was not prepared to take over the responsibility of education which it had assumed. Many years passed between 1870 when the first annual appropriation was made for Indian education and the time when the government had adequate personnel, administrative service, and buildings of its own for Indian schools.

The first contract school was opened September 12, 1869, on the Tulalip Reservation in Washington Territory under the direction of the Reverend Father C. C. Chirouse, whose staff consisted of two male assistants and three Sisters of Charity. Approximately fifty boarding pupils were instructed in religion, academic subjects, and industry. The Federal contract system was abolished by law in 1897. Following a period of agitation, tribal support of contract schools was resumed in 1905 and still continues. Federal contracts for a limited number of children on a per capita basis have prevailed irregularly and are made at the present time, but only in exceptional cases.

At the end of a quarter of a century of government responsibility, Indian education loomed large on the horizon. There had been growth in administration, appropriations, the number of schools, and enrollment. Records were filled with imposing figures. Twenty-seven boarding schools had been opened in one year—the year of 1885. Twelve non-reservation boarding schools had been opened within three years of Commissioner Morgan's administration, and enrollment had risen fifty percent within the four years of his administration.

But the boarding school had reached the crest of its popularity. Although it began to wane in favor and the bitterest criticism was

directed against it, it continued to stand out preeminently in the Federal Indian school system until 1930. Within four years after the first non-reservation boarding school had been opened, it was considered by some officials to be as ineffective in its training as the reservation boarding school, and by others to be even more ineffective. The boarding school had purposely removed the Indian from his native surroundings, and the non-reservation boarding school had increased the distance. The Indian environment had been eliminated as a positive factor in education, and adult training had suffered proportionately. Schools were soon to be regimented and student labor was to emerge as a problem.

Government appropriations for education also loomed large on the horizon. From 1870 to 1882 the total amount slightly exceeded eight hundred thousand dollars, the next year it increased 262 percent, the largest annual increase in its history, and in 1893, the last year of Commissioner Morgan's incumbency, it reached comfortably within seven figures, at about two and a third million dollars.

### *1893-1921: Land Losses and Regimented Schools*

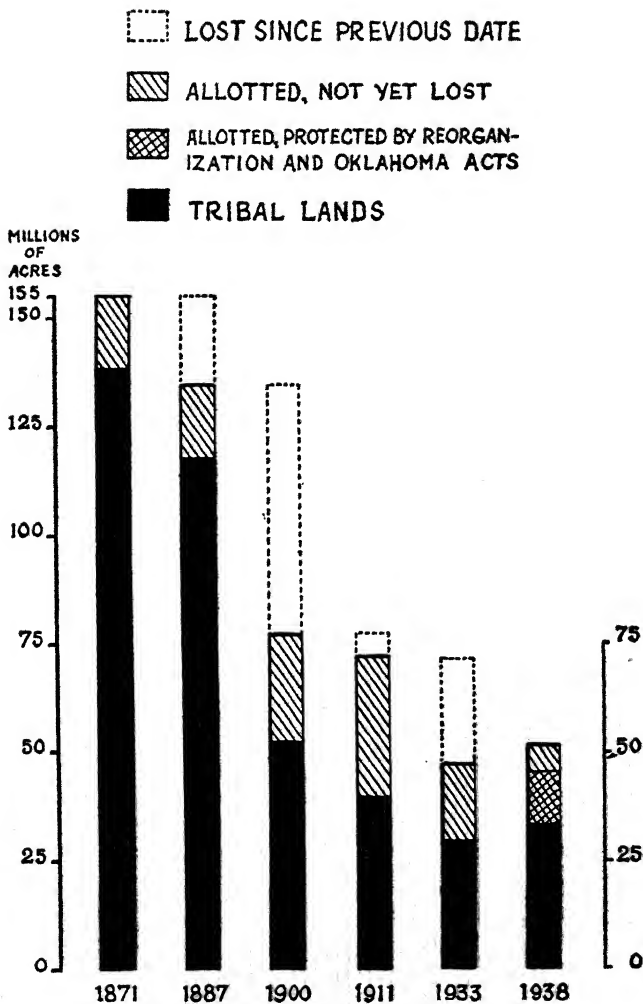
Adverse land legislation affected Indian economy disastrously during the next quarter of a century. The Dawes Act passed in 1887 was beginning to have effect. The Act had been designed in good faith to hasten individual economic adjustment by allotting tribal lands in severalty, and it was also acceptable on the ground that it would gradually terminate land treaties which in turn would partially release the government from financial obligation to the Indians.

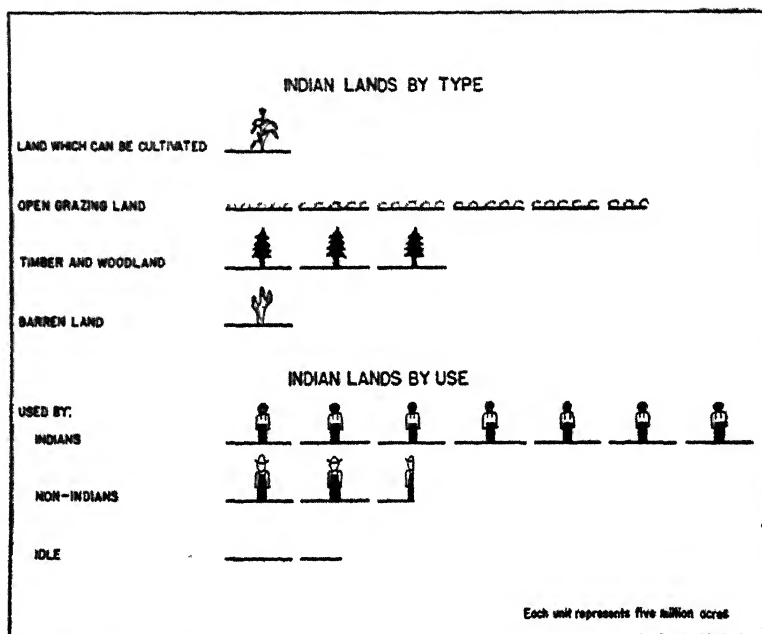
But instead of converting the individual Indian into a successful farmer established on his own land, as anticipated, the measure paradoxically brought about the complete loss of such large areas of tribal land that the very existence of the reservation system was threatened, and many Indians were left in a destitute state.

White interest in western land induced Indians receiving unrestricted allotments to sell outright, and those Indians who retained their small plots were not always capable or inclined to cultivate them, partially because of inadequate training. From 1890 to 1900 tribal land was reduced by about a third.

The land losses finally became so alarming that the Burke Act

# Loss of Indian Reservation Lands





was passed in 1906 as a restraining measure. It required the postponement of the allottee's citizenship until the government could determine his competency to manage an individually held tract. The Act aimed to make it easier for the competent allottee and more difficult for the incompetent to acquire full ownership and it provided that during the period of postponed citizenship, the allotted land could be neither alienated nor encumbered.

The new legislation proved to be little more than an administrative adjustment only slightly affecting the main issue because it merely implied and did not demand the proper training of the allottee during the period of postponed citizenship, or ownership. Nevertheless, its opposition to the premature allotting of land to the Indian incapable of using it for his benefit was a gesture in the right direction.

Another act that pertained to land, and likewise proved to be detrimental to Indian economy, was passed in 1891 authorizing the leasing of Indian lands to white tenants for the grazing of large herds. Many cattlemen, whose interest in Indian land was selfishly

mercenary, enjoyed a period of prosperity while the Indian owners were receiving rentals insufficient to maintain themselves, and at the same time, the temporary loss of their land was imposing idleness upon them.

In the meantime, educational work was being carried on with little reference to what was happening to the Indian's land, his chief economic asset. The enormous Federal expenditures for education during Commissioner Morgan's administration (1889-1893), and the ineffectiveness of the training offered the students evoked protest. The immediate reduction in Federal appropriations ranging from two to eight percent annually curtailed further construction of the costly non-reservation boarding schools and automatically diverted enrollment to government day schools, and to public schools, whenever possible. The heyday of boarding schools had passed but the boarding school itself was so well entrenched economically that it is still retained although modified and improved.

Dr. William N. Hailmann, an eminent educator, was appointed Superintendent of Schools (1893-1897) on the recommendation of William T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education. Dr. Hailmann was of the opinion that the Indian school should be displaced gradually by the public school, and he set out to eradicate outmoded teaching methods and introduce current ones. His attempt to revise the drastic methods of enforcing attendance resulted in such a falling off in enrollment that agents were again directed to fill the reservation schools, and as previously, those runaway students who were harbored by their parents or guardians were arrested and returned. He succeeded in prohibiting corporal punishment on the ground that the school was a formative and not a penal institution.

In his effort to modify student labor, Dr. Hailmann pointed out that not financial profit but the training of the students was the objective of the work performed in the dairies, kitchens, and shops, and on the farms and in the gardens. At the same time he insisted that the management of work projects should aim toward the best possible production. In short, he wanted student participation to simulate vocational training while production turnout should be comparable to that of efficient workmen.

School personnel was improved by institutes and reading circles, educational leave with pay, and the extension of Civil Service re-

quirements. Kindergarten methods were introduced but limited funds prevented the appointment of the proposed kindergarten teachers, and also of manual training teachers. When Dr. Hailmann went out of office there were eleven fewer boarding schools and twenty-four additional day schools, and Indian enrollment in public schools had become a definite policy. From now on, a kind of pedagogical preoccupation prevailed that was detrimental to the broader aspects of education.

Commissioner Francis E. Leupp (1904-1909) was the first government official to advocate day schools and denounce boarding schools. He perceived that the impoverishment of Indians was intensified by loss of land and not alleviated by industrial training. It was during his incumbency that the Burke Act was passed to curb land losses.

Commissioner Leupp referred to the boarding school as "an educational almshouse" maintained by the government in a way that deprived parents of their natural responsibility. He felt that all schools lacked singleness of purpose to meet Indian economic needs, and recommended an individualized day school related to its community. He considered extravagant school equipment unnecessary and thought the day school should be fitted out simply, like a white school. And finally, the Commissioner predicted the time was approaching when Indian parents themselves should support their children, and urged that the government begin preparing them for this new responsibility.

Unfortunately, the changes that gradually took place laid the groundwork for the ultimate regimentation of schools. A Manual issued in 1910 directed that the course of study, unless otherwise outlined by the Commissioner, should be planned to include the common branches taught in white schools. Domestic science and manual training were retained and physical education was regarded as a health measure. Textbooks were an essential part of school equipment, teaching methods were improved, and examinations determined promotion.

The first uniform course of study, which was adopted in 1916, followed the first six years of academic instruction in public schools, with an additional provision for student labor. The student's half day of productive labor was deemed essential in view of the limited appropriations, but it was thought that the student's progress

would not be hampered if the work detail could be properly correlated with regular periods of instruction. Therefore a daily half hour of instruction was arranged in connection with all work, and the work of the higher grades was changed from periods of a few months to that of three years. For example, forty weeks were to be required in cooking, twenty weeks in nursing, and so on up to a total of one hundred and twenty weeks or a three-year period, for the girls; and a similar arrangement was made in the boys' work. Thus by an administrative adjustment institutional labor was to be transformed into a kind of vocational training.

The uniform examinations accompanying the uniform course of study made it impossible to raise or lower grades arbitrarily, and further regimented instruction. The co-operation of the teachers in a speed program of passing the largest possible number of pupils was rewarded by promotion if at least seventy percent of the students made a satisfactory rating. Uniform examinations were suspended in 1917 but were soon resumed and they remained in effect until 1928.

Introduction into the government schools in 1916 of the public school course of study went hand in hand with the enrollment of Indian children in public schools, and within four years more Indians were enrolled in public schools than in government schools. This situation was partially brought about by limiting government school enrollment to children under Federal supervision. A law passed in 1914 denied enrollment in government schools to children of less than one fourth Indian blood, except those entitled to treaty or trust fund benefits. In 1918 the law was amended to include those children of less than one fourth Indian blood who were without school facilities, were in poor physical condition, or whose parents were unable to pay tuition.

Twenty thousand dollars were appropriated in 1915 for Indian public school enrollment, and the same amount was named the following year. From 1917 to 1923 the annual appropriation for this purpose was two hundred thousand dollars. It was directed in 1917 that Indian children whose parents were able to pay for their education, and those who lived near enough to public schools to attend them, should not be admitted to government schools except on payment of actual per capita cost, and cost of transportation.

The government officials themselves frequently complained that the school program was disappointing. Routine labor lacked instructional value and the long grilling hours were inconsistent with approved educational standards. The agricultural training of students received its share of criticism, and a little while later school farms were said to be poorly managed both technically and financially. The cultivation of home gardens under the supervision of day schools was one project that received praise.

A few graduates of agricultural colleges or persons with equivalent training were appointed after 1909 to develop agriculture among the Indians, and in 1916 the agricultural program was improved but only partially correlated with the schools. Agriculture and Home Economics were not included in the course of study until after World War I. Specialists in the latter field were appointed in 1922. One of the weakest points in Indian Service was the failure to correlate the specialized services in a total unified program.

### *Low Ebb*

The record was drab at the end of a half century of full government responsibility in Indian Affairs. Most of the Indians had been kept peaceful, many of them had been kept idle, and too many students had been kept ignorant of techniques that would make them vocationally adept. Large amounts of government money had been spent for schools that were lost in their own machinery.

Student labor in its institutional setting comprised the washing of tons of dishes, the making of acres of beds, the laundering of mountains of clothing, the cleaning of countless huge dormitories, and many other regimented duties on a wholesale scale equally remote from the student's miserable home on a barren reservation which he was presumably being taught to improve.

Indian education closely trailed the development of the public school system, with slight relationship to Indian needs. The difficulty lay in the slavish imitation of the white school. The empty, expensive, time-consuming education program for the Indian did not bring to him economic betterment, nor did it destroy his native way of life as it so woefully intended, because his school followed a sterile path and made only a tip of the wing contact with his tribal experience and his actual reservation surroundings.



By the end of the first World War Indian schools had decreased in number and declined in quality. From 1910 to 1920 there was a loss of thirty-eight schools including twenty-three day schools, and enrollment had dropped a fourth. Public schools had absorbed some of the loss but there never had been enough schools to accommodate all eligible children.

From 1870 to 1921 the fundamental economic issue had not been comprehended. The Indians steadily lost tribal lands, their sole economic asset. In 1921 more than half of those who had received land allotments no longer held them. White men were ready purchasers especially of the fertile tracts. Ten thousand allotments were approved between 1906 and 1916 and nearly eleven thousand between 1917 and 1920. The acceleration in the release of land was due to the policy adopted in 1917 of substituting the group method for the individual method of testing the competency of allotment applicants.

Education and land policies were distinct, one from the other, and neither was constructive. Land legislation was actually detrimental and government schools themselves were losing ground while the preference for day schools was being directed toward Indian enrollment in public schools without reference to their suitability to meet Indian needs. The total Indian situation was growing progressively worse because of the staggering loss of land and the inefficiency of education. But the government, no longer heedless, was now on the eve of a reorganization of Indian Affairs.

## *Federal Responsibility Reinterpreted*

NATION-WIDE INTEREST in human welfare following World War I was expressed in a more scientific organization of social work, the extension of public health service, the adoption of better educational methods, and a general questioning of prevailing economic theories. Each of these developments had bearing on the ultimate reorganization of Indian Affairs which spawned slowly out of three overlapping waves of reform. The Report of the Committee of One Hundred appeared in 1924, the Meriam Report was published in 1928, and the Indian Reorganization Act was passed in 1934.

The first period of reform amounted to little more than a ripple. An Advisory Council of one hundred public-spirited citizens met in Washington in 1923 to consider ways of improving Indian Service. In January of the following year the Committee of One Hundred, as the conferees were called, recommended increased Federal appropriations for the appointment of competent personnel, provision of adequate school facilities, increased Indian enrollment in public schools, and scholarships in high schools and colleges for Indian students. Immediate steps were taken by the Indian Office to increase Indian public school enrollment, extend government school grades, reorganize student labor, and improve field service.

During the period of post-war retrenchment, Indian public school enrollment aided materially in solving the problem of inadequate government school facilities. The revision of the uniform course of study in 1922 to parallel more nearly the changing public school curriculum, and an intensive drive the following year to enroll every Indian child in some school resulted in the unprecedented Indian public school enrollment of thirty thousand.

Appropriations for the program were ample. From 1917 to 1923

two hundred thousand dollars were provided annually, and in 1924, fifty thousand dollars were added. From 1925 to 1928 three hundred and fifty thousand dollars were made available annually, and in 1929 the amount was increased by fifty thousand dollars. A law was passed in 1929 requiring Indian children who were not under government supervision to attend public schools in accordance with state laws; and state school officials were authorized to enter Indian-occupied lands to enforce the measure.

Following the Report of the Committee of One Hundred in 1924, government schools were reorganized to offer more advanced instruction. Day schools were extended to include six grades, reservation schools to include eight grades, and non-reservation boarding schools to include high school work. In 1921 Haskell Institute was the only government school offering work above the eighth grade. By 1925 three other schools were offering high school courses and by 1929 the number had risen to six. But very few of them, if any, in the opinion of some government officials, offered high school work in the strictest sense, since the extension of grades had not necessarily raised school standards. The critics added that vocational training was mediocre and the course of study was not related to Indian environment.

A superficial approach to the problem of student labor reduced it by the mechanization of much of the work detail. In 1926 labor-saving equipment such as food trucks, and dishwashing and laundering machinery were installed, while the volume of sewing and laundering was cut down by the adoption of simpler designs in students' clothing.

The administrative adjustment to improve field service was in effect only a short while. Scarcely had a general superintendent been placed in charge of the combined divisions of education, agriculture, and industry, with nine superintendents stationed in the field, when the order was revoked and the former set-up was resumed.

In 1929 general dissatisfaction was expressed with the gains which had included the appointment of qualified home economics teachers beginning in 1922, the inclusion of agriculture in the course of study, the extension of grades in the schools, the automatic increase of salaries by the Reclassification of Civil Service in 1923 and 1924, the use of modern machinery to reduce student

labor, the discontinuance of uniform school examinations in 1928, and the extension of educational leave with pay from fifteen to thirty days in 1922, and to sixty days in alternate years, in 1928. One adverse factor was a high personnel turnover which reached forty-eight percent in 1927.

Commissioner Charles H. Burke had long been interested in Indian welfare. He was the author of the Burke Act passed in 1906 to offset the detrimental results of the Dawes Act; and now as Commissioner, he attempted again to control the disastrous allotment policy. He had noted in 1921 that two thirds of those Indians receiving allotments of land had not retained them, and many Indians had lost every acre they held. Therefore, he introduced an individual test for the earlier group examination to determine the competency of land applicants with reference to their ability to manage privately owned holdings. But the minor change in technical procedure was ineffective in controlling the loss of land.

Commissioner Burke considered failure to stress Indian participation as the key to industrial adjustment a real defect, and in this respect he regretted that the field service had been particularly remiss. Toward the end of his administration, there was a lull in reform, due perhaps to the launching of the Meriam investigation in 1926. Achievements had been negligible, but at last public attention was being directed toward the plight of the Indians.

### *1928: The Meriam Report*

The publication of the Meriam Report in 1928 at the crest of an era of incredible but false national prosperity marked the real beginning of the reorganization of Indian Affairs. The Report was an extensive survey of the Indian social and economic situation, sponsored by the Institute of Government Research at the request of the United States Department of the Interior and financed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

The purpose of the Report was not to criticise past Indian Service but to propose a constructive program for the attainment of acceptable living standards for the Indians. The ten specialists who made the survey under the direction of Dr. Lewis Meriam found the income of the typical Indian family low, the earned income extremely low, and the land on which many Indians were

living too barren to provide subsistence even for modern agriculturists.

The poverty of the Indians was attributed to the destruction of the economic setting of their native culture by the encroachment of white civilization and to the difficulty of adapting the ancient social and economic patterns of adjustment to rapidly changing surroundings. The failure of government Indian schools was thought to be due to the inadequacy of funds for the appointment of qualified personnel and the absence of a well-planned education program.

The Meriam Report recommended a professional and scientific Division of Planning and Development as an integral part of administration, the strengthening of school and reservation forces in direct contact with the Indians to further the broadest possible education program, a decentralized field service, and an extremely conservative program of land allotment that would leave the large reservations untouched. The recommendations were acted upon during the administration (1929-1933) of Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur and Commissioner Charles J. Rhoads.

Secretary Wilbur held that the aim of Indian Service was to make the Indians self-maintaining American citizens as rapidly as possible, and he proposed the temporary increase of the Service for the purpose of eliminating the Indian Office within about twenty-five years. Plans soon got under way to engage trained specialists, decentralize field service, reorganize education, improve agriculture, and employ Indians. In the process of eliminating the Indian Office, certain of its services were to be transferred to other Federal agencies.

When the Central Office was reorganized, the Commissioner was made the co-ordinating executive of a trained staff composed of the directors and assistants of the Divisions of Health, Education, Agricultural Extension and Industry, Forestry, Irrigation, and Land. Similarly, the services of competent specialists were co-ordinated under the direction of superintendents in the field so that less important problems might be handled locally. The qualifications of the directors and assistants conformed to the highest standards in their respective fields. In some instances, however, these standards bore very little relationship to Indian Service problems.

In the thoroughgoing reorganization of education a very able

Director of the Education Division, and an Assistant Director effectively introduced progressive methods and theories to break down the prevailing regimented system. The new policy of educating the Indians near their homes ran counter to the old, but soon took root.

Boarding schools presented a major difficulty not only because of their inherent defects, but also because, in 1926, more than four fifths of all Indian children in government schools were enrolled in them. The Meriam Report had outlined their shortcomings and had justly criticised their mediocre educational standards and inadequate care of students.

The food was not sufficiently nourishing, huge dormitories were overcrowded, and health supervision was generally neglected. The daily schedule was formalized almost to military precision. The age range of the students from five to twenty-one years of age included many young children. Each student above the fourth grade devoted half the school day to the performance of duties in connection with running the school, garden, dairy, or farm. Not all boarding schools harbored all the defects but each observed an equally rigid schedule.

By 1932 much had been accomplished in reducing the number of boarding schools and improving those that remained. The number was reduced by closing a few and by converting some into community day schools and others into consolidated schools. Enrollment dropped by about two thousand. High school grades were added, lower grades were discontinued when small children could be transferred to day schools, and the course of study was made more realistic. Vocational training was improved, work detail was appreciably curtailed, and better care was provided for the students.

The development of the government day school was imperative. New day schools were set up and old ones were reorganized to conform to new standards and theories. But the distinct innovation was the community day school that rendered services of various types to the neighborhood. By 1932 day school enrollment had increased by more than two thousand.

Indian public school enrollment was favored. A careful study was made of Indian public school attendance and Federal-State co-operation was sought. An Indian Service State Supervisor of Education was appointed in Oklahoma in 1931, and in Arizona,

South Dakota, Washington, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Michigan a little later. Federal supervisors and public school officials began then to work together to modify the public school with reference to the needs of Indian students.

Increased appropriations gave the government the privilege of recommending higher school standards—a privilege previously denied because Federal tuition rates for Indian students in public schools had been meeting only about half the cost. The appropriation of six hundred thousand dollars in 1933 for Indian public school enrollment was a third more than it had been in 1929, and it was three times the amount appropriated in 1923. Federal tuition was paid for about forty-four thousand Indian pupils in 1933, and the reports at the time showed that from ten to twelve thousand other Indian children, for whom no Federal tuition was paid, were attending public schools. Federal-State co-operation in promoting social welfare and health, as well as education, began to gain, particularly in California, Minnesota, and Wisconsin.

The course of study in government schools was not totally revised, nor was any particular State course of study followed, but if one were chosen as a guide, those sections pertaining to the student's development and grade promotion were adopted. It was the aim to set up an elastic course of study that would reflect the school's economic surroundings. Local materials were used in the classroom. Work detail and industrial training revolved around instruction instead of production. When non-educative industrial activities could not be eliminated, suggestions and plans for their reduction were sought. The installation of additional machinery and the employment of unskilled labor eased the student labor situation.

A list of modern textbooks was carefully compiled; from these, selections might be made for specific schools. Supplementary reference reading was recommended. Textbook content itself was considered of importance only as it could be related to the pupil's experience, abilities, and needs. Teachers were encouraged to introduce constructive activities in daily schedules, and to adapt classroom procedure to real life situations with the pupils playing an active role in the educational process instead of being passive recipients of a mass of formalized information.

School personnel was improved by the appointment of specialists

with qualifications acceptable in good public school systems. In 1929 graduation from a recognized educational institution was made a prerequisite in Civil Service examinations for teachers, principals, and school superintendents. Opportunities for training within service were enriched and pertinent courses were suggested for teachers studying on leave.

Boys' and Girls' Advisers, specialists in the fields of Social Work, and Vocational Guidance and Placement, and trained supervisors in elementary and secondary education, and in home economics were appointed. Home economics teachers were instructed to spend at least a month visiting Indian homes to acquaint themselves with reservation conditions. Cooks, laundresses, bakers, and seamstresses were to improve their skills by study in commercial centers. The agricultural program was correlated with the school and provision was made for dairymen, stockmen, and farmers to enroll in short winter courses.

Opportunities in higher education were provided in non-government schools and universities for Indian students. Annual appropriations from 1931 and allowances from tribal funds from 1930 were used for training in nursing, home economics, forestry, and other vocations. Five scholarships were available at the University of Michigan for Indians from any part of the United States. In 1933 an amount not in excess of ten thousand dollars was appropriated by the government to aid advanced Indian students. By 1932 sixty-nine reimbursable loans to students amounted to more than sixteen thousand dollars, and twelve tribal fund loans totaled thirty-five hundred dollars. With the aid of Federal or tribal funds, 161 Indian students had been enrolled by 1933.

The agricultural program developed rapidly under the guidance of a highly qualified Director. Agricultural Extension and Home Demonstration expanded into the broad beginnings of the present excellent program. The work was carefully correlated with the schools and brought to the Indians a long needed service.

Two aims of the administration—the employment of a large number of Indians, and the curtailment of activities toward the ultimate elimination of the Indian Office—were not fully realized. The program to place Indians in employment was financed by an appropriation of ten thousand dollars, in 1930, and fifty thousand dollars the following year. The program was also adequately



staffed. A director was appointed and two Indians were engaged to secure work for their people with industrial concerns. The staff co-operated with public employment offices, and with government schools in placing graduates. But many difficulties arose from the existing nation-wide depression; only a thousand of the twenty-five hundred placements were permanent.

The proposal to transfer certain services for the purpose of eventually eliminating the Indian Office, did not meet with success. The transfer of Indian education to the United States Office of Education was impossible after the Education Office was reorganized in 1930 and 1931 and dispensed with administrative duties. In fact, the Education Office reached base first and transferred the administration of native education in Alaska to the Indian Office.

Instead of transferring the Indian Health Service to the United States Public Health Service, as was proposed, a full time medical staff from the latter was detailed to the Indian Service, and the two Federal agencies worked together. The hospital service and medical field service were improved by the arrangement, but little was done toward co-ordinating the health and school programs.

The enlarged Indian Service had demanded generous expenditures. In 1932 the total appropriation was about twenty-seven million dollars in contrast to sixteen million dollars in 1929. In 1932 there were more than three thousand Indian Service employees with salaries amounting to more than four and a half million dollars; in 1929, there had been less than twenty-five hundred employees and their salaries had exceeded three and a half million dollars. In 1932, the appropriation for education was about ten million dollars with an additional million dollars from tribal funds, while in 1930 it had been nine million dollars with an extra million dollars from tribal funds.

Commissioner Rhoads attributed the increase in expenditures to the construction of schools and hospitals, the purchase of adequate food and clothing for boarding school students, the development of the agricultural program, the salaries of new personnel and increase in salaries of promoted personnel, the employment of unskilled labor to relieve the work detail of students, and the expansion of field nursing and social services.

From all this there were four lasting gains: the reorganized ad-

ministrative set-up, the introduction of technical and professional services, a broadened agricultural service, and an elastic education program that took the school to the Indians. In the meantime, Indian economy was not only not improving but it was continuing steadily on its downward course. Conservative land allotment had been advocated and in four years, more than half a million acres were released to individual Indians. The contributory causes to the decline of Indian economy from 1929 to 1933 were listed as bad weather conditions, crop destruction by grasshoppers, low prices for salable products, and the difficulty of placing Indians in employment.

When the national depression was at its worst in 1933, the Indian situation of actual distress was relieved by more than forty carloads of surplus clothing from the War Department; and thousands of yards of materials and clothing from the American Red Cross. From 1931 to 1933 the Red Cross had provided supplies of bed clothing, ready-made garments, and some five million pounds of flour. State relief organizations extended aid, and nearly three million dollars were appropriated by Federal agencies.

For four years a Congressional investigation of the Indian situation had been underway, and in 1933 Senator William H. King, of Utah, submitted a report which disclosed the loss of nearly ninety million acres of Indian land since 1887 and the expenditure of five hundred million dollars from tribal funds during the same period. Not only had much of the Indian wealth been used up, but at least half the land still occupied by the Indians was arid and unsuited for farming. In short, the Indians' patrimony had been dissipated because it had been used not as capital, but as income. Criticism was directed against the destructive allotment policy, the inadequate education program, and the lack of Indian participation in Indian affairs. Finally, the report recommended the fundamental reorganization of Federal Indian Service.

The four major contributions from this period (1929-1933) strengthened immeasurably the new policy soon to be ushered in by the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act. Indian Service had been loosed from its antiquated moorings; it now dropped anchor in deeper waters.

*1934: The Indian Reorganization Act*

The Indian Reorganization Act lies at the center of the present Federal Indian policy. The Act, stressing equally each element in the hyphenated concept Indian-economy, is consistently pro-Indian. Its enactment destroyed the last vestige of anti-tribal policy. It provides intelligent direction and, when necessary, practical assistance, to free Indian individuals and groups in the attainment of economic independence through their own efforts. Centuries are spanned in reaching backward to ancient values in Indian culture and forward to modern business management to guarantee land as a foundation on which the Indian may securely stand, and at the same time, to guarantee the use of the Indian's patrimony for his own improvement.

The contributions from the preceding administration—technical services, reorganized schools, an enlarged agricultural program, and an improved administrative set-up—not only accelerated the program at its beginning but also gave it permanent strength. The major provisions of the Act had been conceived a decade earlier by a lay group interested in Indian welfare; nevertheless, its enactment in 1934 was well timed. It was nurtured by the social and political climate of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal Administration with its legislation relating to the restoration and expansion of national economy, the improvement of standards of living, and the provision of at least a degree of economic security. In 1933 Harold L. Ickes was appointed Secretary of the Interior (1933–1946), and John Collier was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1933–1945). Secretary Ickes and Commissioner Collier had been actively interested in Indian welfare for a number of years and were well acquainted with the major problems in Indian Affairs.

The Indian Reorganization Act introduced the first program in the history of Indian Affairs that penetrated to the roots of Indian economic maladjustment. At one blow it terminated the individual allotment of tribal land. Three of its main features are: the conservation and restoration of land, financial credit, and the Indians' participation and responsibility in the process of their economic rehabilitation.

The Act provided for the restoration of areas depleted by over-

grazing and erosion; made mandatory the conservation of Indian land; authorized the purchase of additional tracts; established a revolving credit fund to be used by Indians in the development of agriculture and industrial projects; made possible group organization for local self-government, and business incorporation for self-management in the interest of an improved economy, and it increased educational and training facilities for Indians.

The Reorganization Act itself is neither arbitrary nor imposed. It does, however, arbitrarily require each tribe to vote its acceptance or rejection. Therefore only those Indians who vote to accept its responsibilities may enjoy its benefits. About three-fourths of the Indians have voted to accept it.

The Indian Service is trying to restore, at least partially, the Indians' patrimony so calamitously reduced and depleted through no fault of the Indians; and also to help the Indians in their own progress toward economic independence. The reservation suffered from economic isolation as the rapid stream of national industrial expansion flowed by and left it untouched. It became a quiet, hemmed-in pool of inertia. Agricultural productivity was almost neutralized by land abuse, scientifically speaking. From the viewpoint of the Indian who was seeking a livelihood the land suffered from overuse.

The procedure of putting the new policy into action was similar to that of any American business enterprise. For example, when a group of Indians voted to accept the Reorganization Act, a charter of organization was issued to them. Perhaps they had land; but if not, it was purchased for them. The revolving credit fund provided an immediate loan. If the group were interested in a livestock project, they could borrow breeding animals from a central supply arranged for this particular purpose. The loan of the animals was returned from the next generation of the increasing herd, and the money loan was refunded from the surplus earnings when the stock was sold. Thus, the wheels went round.

Adjustments to facilitate action in the new program were made soon after the Indian Reorganization Act was passed. Administration was further reorganized. The Directors of Health, Education, Tribal Organization, Agricultural Extension, Land, Forestry, and Irrigation co-operated in formulating the policy and the program.

Eight of ten newly outlined field districts lay west of the Mississippi River. The ninth included the Iroquois tribes in New York, the Eastern Cherokees in North Carolina, the Seminoles in Florida, and the Choctaws in Mississippi. Alaska was the tenth district. Regional co-ordinators cleared the field service which was strengthened by area projects; and a superintendent worked with the technical and professional divisions, the field personnel, and the Indians in integrating community programs.

In 1943 the services were divided into four main branches. The Administrative Branch supervises and co-ordinates administration in the Chicago Central Office and the field units. The Community Services Branch works with Division Directors in co-ordinating programs of health, welfare, and education. The Indian Resources Branch develops and carries out plans for the administration of Indian forests and grazing lands; the organization and financing through credit funds, of stock associations and agricultural projects; the acquisition of additional land; and the efficient use of land, minerals, wildlife, and other resources. The Engineering Branch devotes its services to the development of irrigation and the construction of highways and buildings.

It is the responsibility of the Commissioner, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to administer the conservation, development, and utilization of Indian resources; and the comprehensive programs of education, health, and welfare for three hundred and fifty thousand Indians in the United States and thirty-three thousand natives in Alaska, and to develop co-operative agreements with state and local governments in providing services where Indian and white communities are intermingled. The field service carries out the policies approved by the Commissioner, and administers the program in direct contact with the Indians. The Central Office was moved to Chicago, Illinois, in 1942, but the Commissioner and a skeleton staff remain in the Liaison Office in Washington, D. C. There are many district offices in the field.

In order to offset the further expansion of the Indian Office it has been a common policy to utilize services of other agencies. Among the agencies sharing services either formally or informally with the Indian Office are the United States Bureau of Ethnology, the United States Public Health Service, and the United States Department of Agriculture, as well as a number of independent

research organizations, and the research departments of certain recognized universities.

The present Indian Service program is the first to engage anthropologists to assist in interpreting Indian needs. The anthropological service which is of a distinctly interpretative character and is directed into practical channels, has aided in drawing up tribal constitutions, determining natural communities within reservations, arranging for any necessary use of native dialects, developing arts and crafts in other than economic ways, conserving authentic Indian music, retraining personnel within the service, and revising the school program to meet the problem of cultural resistance.

Another constructive legislative measure—the Johnson-O'Malley Act—was passed just two months before the Indian Reorganization Act. The Johnson-O'Malley Act authorizes Federal contracts with states and other political units to improve Indian education and welfare. A Federal-State contract provides that a specified sum be paid by the government, and holds the state responsible for the education and welfare of Indians within its boundaries. Through the collaboration and joint control based on a contract, the government has a voice in establishing acceptable standards. Soon after the Act was passed, contracts were drawn up with California, Washington, and Minnesota.

The Indian Service is an aggregation of particular programs that have evolved to meet Indian needs, such as the programs of health, education, land conservation, stock-raising, and so forth; and all of them are correlated toward a unified goal. The achievements of the total program fall roughly into two closely related categories—education and material progress.

## *Reorientation and Improvement*

A DECADE of effort has brought extraordinary achievement. The outstanding gain is the retention of the Indian Reorganization Act. Through it, Indian Service has been taken to the Indian in order to help him equip himself to manage his own affairs. Educational and material gains have crystallized in beginnings that are promising in spite of adverse Congressional action.

The education program has been tediously reoriented in an effort to meet the needs of Indians of varying degrees of acculturation, and with differing aspirations. Not all Indians are interested in agriculture; there are those who prefer to prepare themselves for jobs in trades and industry away from the reservation. Each Indian youth has the privilege of learning how to work on a reservation, or elsewhere; or of attending a college or university to prepare for a vocation or profession. The reorientation of education has endowed it with environmental roots that have created new substance, new patterns, and new goals.

The Indian's economy has been notably improved. His material status has been fortified, although somewhat feebly, by the acquisition of new skills, expanded opportunities for employment, the termination of land loss, and a small gesture toward the restoration of his patrimony. But the infiltration of a new interpretation of Indian needs has been slow and its acceptance is by no means unanimous; consequently, the hold of all the gains continues to be tenuous.

### *Types of Schools*

The reorganized school bequeathed from the preceding administration stood ready for further adaptation to function as a more

effective agency in a totally reorganized Indian Service. The perpetual reorientation of education for a decade, although a piecemeal procedure and at times a delaying one, has produced not only worthwhile but also permanent results.

All the former types of schools have been retained but they have been modified. Indians attend non-reservation boarding schools, reservation boarding schools, and day schools that are maintained by the government; mission schools and public schools with or without Federal or tribal aid, and state and private institutions of higher learning with full or partial aid from Federal or tribal funds. The present classification of government schools as elementary, junior high, senior high, and post-secondary rather than the former classification of boarding and day schools, indicates extension of grades and improvement in standards.

In 1943 there were 265 government schools with an enrollment of thirty-four thousand. Indian public school enrollment exceeded that figure, and more than twelve thousand eligible Indian children were not in any school. There were eighteen non-reservation boarding schools, thirty-one reservation boarding schools, and 216 day schools. Elementary grades were offered in 258 schools and partial or full high school work in sixty-three. From 1933 to 1943 there was a loss of sixteen boarding schools and a gain of eighty-four day schools, making a total gain of sixty-eight schools; enrollment had shifted from three-fourths in boarding schools in 1933 to two-thirds in day schools in 1943.

The non-reservation school which boards students enrolled from a distance can no longer be criticised, as formerly, for taking the Indian away from his people, since about half are now located in Indian communities, and not one of them is at any great distance from Indian environment. From 1933 to 1943 the number fell from twenty-five to eighteen, and enrollment from more than twelve thousand to about fifty-six hundred. Although the general lack of school facilities and the absence of home care for many children still make it necessary to include elementary grades, fourteen of these schools offer full or partial high school work. A distinct vocational emphasis is given the course of study, and technical and commercial training prepares students for employment away from reservations.

A similar change has taken place in the reservation boarding



school. From 1933 to 1943 the number dropped from forty to thirty-one, and enrollment from nearly ten thousand to a little over fifty-seven hundred. The boarding service is being gradually whittled away, with day students attending more than half of these schools, and many boarding students remaining only during the school week. Elementary grades are still necessarily retained in most schools of this type, but the majority offers high school work. The course of study is related closely to reservation economy in order to give the students a better understanding of local needs.

There is no indication at present that the boarding school can be wholly eliminated, nor is it desirable to do so as long as certain conditions in reservation life prevail. On the other hand, it has been well demonstrated that instruction can be adapted to meet changing needs, and this type of school can be altered for the better in other ways. For example, institutional labor still exists but not as the serious problem it once was. Some of the work is performed by unskilled labor, and some of it has been converted into profitable co-operative enterprise with instructional significance. The maladjustment of the student placed in schools at a distance from his people has disappeared. All the schools are in or near an Indian environment, and instruction is designed to give the student a better understanding of his surroundings.

The community day school, the novel and effective contribution from the preceding administration, is built up directly out of its own setting which it serves in diverse ways. In 1943 there were 216 of these schools representing a gain of eighty-four in ten years. During the same period, enrollment had risen from 6836 to 21,559. All the day schools offer elementary courses and twenty-seven of them offer full or partial high school work.

Indians are enrolled as contract students in some of the mission schools where they are maintained by a Federal per capita fee. In contrast to the government policy, mission schools have a tendency to emphasize the academic phase of instruction rather than the vocational phase. Many mission schools enroll Indian children free, and some receive tribal aid.

Indian public school enrollment has been advocated for more than a half century. Naturally the public school system has influenced the Federal program of Indian education, and, at times,

adversely. There was a long period when the government school imitated the public school so closely that it failed to meet Indian needs. Only recently has the relationship been balanced advantageously for the Indian.

The provision of funds to maintain the Indian student in the public school, and the irrelevance of public school instruction to Indian requirements have been the chief difficulties. Inasmuch as Federal Indian land is tax exempt and there are many Indians who are not required to pay taxes, the use of Federal, state, and local funds for Indian public school students is legally limited. This problem has been met by the payment of a Federal per capita fee calculated on current costs, contracts authorized by the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934, and special arrangements as in Oklahoma.

The major criticism against the public school has been its failure to meet specific Indian needs, particularly with reference to language difficulties, vocational training, and economic adjustment. Legislation now authorizes government collaboration, and in many instances when subsidy is provided government school officials participate in the development of acceptable standards and adequate services. In 1937 Indian public school enrollment reached a peak of fifty thousand. By 1943 it had dropped to less than thirty-seven thousand but still exceeded government school enrollment. In that year Federal subsidy to maintain Indian public school students amounted to a million and a quarter dollars, and there were some public schools that did not require tuition subsidy.

Indians who desire advanced education have many opportunities. Professional and technical training in universities and colleges is made available through a goodly number of scholarships and generous Federal loans. Haskell Institute is the only government school that offers post-secondary work. Working scholarships consisting of full maintenance in return for certain services may be arranged in a few government boarding schools for those Indians attending nearby colleges or universities.

Scholarships are offered at Dartmouth College, Harvard University, the Colorado State College of Agriculture and Technical Arts at Fort Lewis, Mills College at Oakland, California, the Chicago Art Institute, and the University of Michigan. Among organizations and clubs offering financial aid and scholarships are the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, the Society of Colonial

Dames, the Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Massachusetts Indian Society.

Prior to the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act, Federal provision for the higher education of Indians had been negligible. A small Federal appropriation and limited tribal funds had been available since 1931 for courses in technical and industrial training, and in 1932 an appropriation not to exceed ten thousand dollars was designated for vocational and higher education.

In contrast, an amount not in excess of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was authorized in 1934 for the higher, and technical secondary education of those Indians organized under the Indian Reorganization Act; and the following year, a hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars were appropriated for educational assistance. An Act was passed in 1936 authorizing contracts between the government and the states for the education of Indians in such secondary schools, universities, and special schools as are open to all residents of the state.

Some Federal loans to Indian students are reimbursable, others are not; and some are designated for the aid of Indians who have accepted the Reorganization Act, while others are made available to Indians not so organized. All reimbursable loans are extended for an eight-year period. Many Indian students have received scholarships and loans but the number has recently decreased because of the demands of war.

Thus a formal education program to meet the needs of a normal average group from six to twenty-two years of age, has been readjusted, but no provision has been made for special schools, nursery schools, or a formal adult education program. No schools of a special type are maintained by the Indian Service. The physically handicapped and mentally deficient are usually placed in state or other institutions, where, in some instances, they receive clothing, and incidental aid from the government. There is also a limited provision under the educational loans division for the tutoring of children in sanatoria.

Attempts to set up nursery schools have been sporadic. The nursery school in Alaska for the children of working mothers is a recent venture. A few schools of this type were organized in conjunction with the Works Progress Administration, but they went

out of existence when that organization was discontinued. Another project approximating a nursery school was developed in 1935 by the home economics department of one school which included neighborhood children in a child care program. The preschool group helped set their own tables and performed other small chores of instructional value.

Adult education permeates the total program, but unfortunately, it does not occupy a formal place in the school curriculum. There are a few voluntary classes in language, reading, and writing for illiterates, and naturally, the workshop activities and neighborhood interests of schools as well as the most of the particular programs, such as the programs of health, agriculture, and so forth, contribute directly to adult education. From 1934 to 1942 the Indians Emergency Conservation Works trained adult Indians by engaging them in the construction of roads, buildings, irrigation systems, and other projects of a permanent nature. Many Indians holding industrial jobs today acquired their training from this program.

There is a limited distribution of literature to further adult education. The Education Division publishes leaflets and studies on co-operatives, land conservation, and home improvement. The bi-monthly publication, *Indians at Work*, was a channel of general information. A small monthly news sheet in the Navajo language with mimeographed English translation, is widely distributed at trading posts, hospitals, and other centers, to interpret to adults the responsibilities and benefits of the Reorganization Act.

### *Course of Study*

The traditional course of instruction has been transformed and vitalized by relating it to the Indian's interests and aptitudes, and aligning it with local and national economy. An attempt is made to integrate each of the particular programs in the Indian Service, with the school program. In elementary schools, academic courses with a prevocational slant pertain to projects close at hand. For example, students may learn in late autumn and winter, about harvesting crops, storing vegetables, or curing meat; and in spring, about pottery, gardening, or prairie dogs.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic may be learned in marketing surplus vegetables, or in the preparation and sale of wild rice, wool,

maple sugar, or fish. Poultry-raising, plant life, birds and bees, timber and sawmills, salt beds, and the tanning of hides become fruitful school subjects in various localities.

A few secondary schools offer work preparatory to entering colleges and universities, but the most of them train the students vocationally. Non-reservation schools provide industrial training, and reservation schools offer courses chiefly in agriculture, land use, and stock-raising. Nearly all the latter are equipped with land for teaching purposes, and also with shop facilities to train students particularly in the repair and maintenance of farm machinery.

A threefold school objective comprises health, literacy, and self-maintenance. Health education is made a component part of the school program under the joint direction of the Health and Education Divisions. The health problem is difficult partly because of unfavorable social and economic conditions, and partly because of the Indian's acceptance of supernatural causes of disease. One of the major purposes of health education is to give the Indian a better understanding of the causes and the prevention of ill health, and also of ways to attain better health.

Medical care for the Indians was one of the earliest government services, dating from the time when army physicians attended the tribes. A Medical Division was established in 1873, and the service was greatly improved in 1909, but sharing of responsibility by the United States Public Health Service with the Indian Service did not begin until 1926. Following the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act, a fuller incorporation of the health education program within the school and the community took place.

A Supervisor of Health Education promotes community activity in health projects. Information is disseminated through pertinent and currently revised charts, pamphlets, films, graphic materials, and lectures. A typical pamphlet may contain information on personal hygiene, sanitation, care in serving meals, and other everyday health problems. Simple health habits and practices are presented in an understandable way by many new textbooks. Health clinics for the community and students are arranged in some schools, and each school develops its own health program in addition.

Trachoma, which had become one of the most distressing of all school problems, finally yielded to sulfanilamide medication intro-

duced by Dr. Fred Loe, in 1939. Within four years the new treatment reduced the total number of trachoma cases from 20.2 percent to 7.2 percent, and the cases among school children from 20.3 percent to 5.4 percent. The Indian death rate, although still extremely high, fell 53.3 percent from 1931 to 1943. Improvement of the health program is largely due to the reorganization of the Health Division, and the fuller co-operation of the United States Public Health Service.

Literacy is a major Indian need clearly recognized by the government. Illiteracy, or more accurately pre-literacy, combined with the use of an almost wholly unrecorded language has held the Indian incomunicado. It has circumscribed his life experience and curtailed his social and economic progress. The attack on illiteracy is being waged almost exclusively through the schools.

The teaching personnel is trained in special courses in the Indian Service Summer Schools, and also in colleges and universities, to meet language problems. The appointment of native teachers, too, has been helpful. New bilingual textbooks have been prepared by the Education Division but there has been difficulty in finding a staff equipped to use them. The use of the native language in schools, which was resumed in 1934, is not at all concerned with its perpetuation, but is for the primary purpose of making contact with non-English speaking students in order to make them literate.

The literacy reports of the United States Bureau of the Census show remarkable gains. Indian illiteracy fell from 33.1 percent in the group of twenty-one years and over in 1930, to 25.2 percent in the group of twenty-five years and over in 1940; and from 1910 to 1940 the number in the illiterate group was almost cut in half. The gain was attributed to growing school facilities.

Unfortunately the Indian Service program to wipe out illiteracy is still confined to formal school instruction. The rooting of the language barrier in childhood and its preservation by the mature continue undisturbed in the absence of nursery schools and a formal adult education program. A broadside attack on illiteracy lies in the future. The need for it is urgent, as is forcibly brought home by one single instance—the rejection of many Navajos by Selective Service because they could not read, write, or speak English.

Agriculture, stock-raising, and native arts and crafts occupy a prominent position in school instruction to promote Indian self-maintenance. Since the Indians are a rural population group with land and its byproducts as the center of their economy, the Federal education program is largely a rural school system. The programs in agriculture and stock-raising have grown rapidly. From 1932 to 1940 school land for agricultural training trebled. The number of teachers of agriculture increased enormously reaching fifty-eight in 1940, while the number of students in this field had trebled during the previous five years.

Instruction in agriculture is both practical and scientific. Dry farming is taught in many localities. Land irrigation, soil conservation, the control of erosion, animal husbandry, and plant life are some of the subjects taught in the science courses. Certain programs are adapted to train girls in subsistence gardening, and the breeding of small livestock. However during the absence of many boys who were in the armed services or engaged in essential war industries, girl students demonstrated unusual ability in assisting with larger projects.

The Chilocco Agricultural School in Oklahoma, an accredited secondary school, controls more than eight thousand acres of land in connection with its diversified program. The Oglala Community High School at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, utilizes about two thousand acres of irrigated land for the production of garden crops and stock feed. This school started a horse-breeding program in 1938, and it is also interested in a large herd of beef cattle that grazes over hundreds of acres. The students spend a certain number of weeks on the range alternately with a certain period in school to receive formal instruction in co-operative marketing, the organization of stock associations, and in other practical and scientific details of stock-breeding.

Some schools arrange for students to share in the proceeds of sales, or to acquire livestock of their own, so that it is possible for them to accumulate funds while in training. The role of education in directing the Indian toward economic independence in this vital program can not be overestimated.

The field of native arts and crafts has been organized in the interest of Indian self-maintenance. The success of this program and the keen public interest manifested in it may be attributed to

the functional quality of Indian art, the Federal policy of conserving Indian culture values, the theory of active participation in the educational process, and finally, the work of the Arts and Crafts Board.

The Indian is richly endowed with rare sensitivity to color and design, and is gifted with a high degree of delicate manual dexterity. He is the craftsman extraordinary. Many tribes excel in weaving, spinning, silversmithing, metal and leather work, the making of pottery, and carving in wood, ivory, and bone. Art plays a prominent part in the Indian's everyday life; therefore, authentic native designs are practically adaptable. Museums, old and new, are beginning to assume a functional role in the field of education.

Indian art has been incorporated formally and informally in schools, ranging from projects in puppets and pageants to the painting of murals. An excellent vocational art program has been developed in the school at Sante Fe, New Mexico. Some students have been engaged to paint murals, and others have succeeded in the field of commercial art. The art work of Indian students lends a decided tone and creates a colorful atmosphere in the new building of the Department of the Interior, and especially in the Indian Office.

Craft skills for commercial production are taught in a number of schools, and in some instances handicraft articles are turned out in marketable quantities. Instruction is intended to improve both quality and quantity in order to swell monetary returns. Native skills and techniques are preserved but the products are frequently modified to meet modern demand and practical usage.

The Arts and Crafts Board was organized in 1935 to conserve Indian art, to stimulate interest in it, and to improve Indian economy. The Board engages in research to revive and re-establish old art techniques, and endeavors to raise standards of excellence. It has introduced trademarks of genuineness for a number of products. One of the main functions of the Board is to create markets, but it is not empowered to act in the capacity of dealer.

Many striking exhibits have been arranged by the Arts and Crafts Board, notable among them being that at the Golden Gate Exposition at San Francisco, California, in 1939. The income from arts and crafts estimated in 1942 at nearly three quarters of a million dollars, is convincing evidence of the success attending the



combination of business enterprise with stimulated output of native skills.

Schoolroom equipment, textbooks, and library services have been altered and improved. General schoolroom equipment similar to that used in public schools is available for Indian schools, and the use of all possible indigenous material in addition is desired. Such media as clay, wood, birch bark, grass, reeds, natural dyes, quills, and leather are not only highly adaptable for teaching purposes, but the Indians have a wide knowledge of them.

The adoption of new types of textbooks for Indians is advancing the education program. In contrast to former days when public school textbooks, regardless of their unsuitability, were used exclusively, schoolbooks are now selected with discrimination and a few texts have been prepared expressly for the Indians. Suggested lists are revised at intervals and school libraries provide books for reference and general reading.

The new bilingual books consisting of some two dozen texts printed in English and Navajo, English and Sioux, and English and Spanish, were designed primarily for use in government schools but they are of interest and value in any school. The stories pertain to Indian life, and range from the primer to high school grades. Anthropologists collaborated to establish authenticity in detail, and Indian artists designed the attractive illustrations. These new books are published by the Education Division, and may be purchased at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas.

The present library service began in 1930 with the purchase of some sixteen thousand books for supplementary and general reading. The purchase was based on lists of books for each school grade which were submitted as guides by school superintendents. In 1935 when the rapid growth of day schools in remote areas directed attention to library needs, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company assisted the government in making a survey that resulted in the setting up of a limited traveling library service. The New York State Library Association extended valuable aid to the New York Indians in organizing libraries.

The allowance for the purchase of books which is included in the annual Federal appropriation for education has been used in purchasing thousands of inexpensive paperbound volumes, and the

printing service at Haskell Institute contributes to the accession of certain types of reading material.

Library facilities were first provided in government Indian schools in 1886, and the first circulating library service which was distinct from the school library was established in 1914. City, county, and state circulating library service was eventually extended to some of the Indian schools, but there are many schools which do not receive non-government service. Although school libraries have been established on a firm footing, library facilities in general continue to be inadequate.

New school buildings constitute only a small percentage of the total but architectural improvement from the utilitarian point of view as well as from the esthetic, is notable. The building program following the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act profited appreciably from the Public Works Administration.

Heretofore boarding schools were housed in abandoned army barracks or in new quarters constructed along similar lines. Such structures were in keeping with the earlier regimented school system when students arose at reveille, ate in mess halls, and retired at taps. Day schools which were few in number convened in the old fashioned one room schoolhouse.

New school construction incorporates a socializing element related to the new program. Boarding schools are improved as residential centers and many of the day schools include living quarters for the teaching staff. The unit type and cottage type of dormitory that simulate normal family group quarters are favored. The former accommodates four students in a single room and limits the total unit to about thirty residents. The latter includes a kitchen, dining room, and other service facilities for a group of some twenty students, who are under the supervision of a resident teacher or other school representative. Students housed in these smaller units perform duties that are naturally scaled down to the requirements of normal living conditions, in contrast to the inapplicable work detail of the antiquated barracks dormitory. The smaller units also serve in a measure as laboratories in connection with the home economics program.

The newly constructed schools include classrooms, auditoriums, libraries, laboratories, workshops, garages, and storehouses. Among

the new features in the community day schools are an apartment or separate quarters used as the teachers' home, and a dining room, kitchen, laundry, sewing room, garage, and workshop for the use of the school and the community. The new school buildings designedly constitute community work centers.

The construction of the new schools is simple, and from local materials whenever possible. In a few instances the influence of native culture has produced impressive designs. The Taos Elementary and Junior High School, a day school at Taos, New Mexico, is an adaptation of the Indian pueblo, and is built of adobe brick plastered. It is an artistic aggregation of flat-roofed units encircling a patio. An architectural adaptation of the Indian hogan is used in the buildings at the Cove Elementary Day School near Shiprock, New Mexico.

### *Personnel*

The Indian Reorganization Act placed upon personnel responsibilities that had never before been assumed. The new interpretation of Indian Service aims demanded the re-education of those already in service, a more careful selection of appointees, and the employment of the largest possible number of Indians.

The Indian Service Summer School was organized in 1936 to offer courses pertinent to the Indian situation that were not available in a typical college or university. It originated the preceding year with groups of teachers placed in Indian communities to study actual living conditions. The first regular session offered classes in anthropology, philosophy of Indian education, agriculture, home economics, rural sociology, arts and crafts, health education, the Sioux and Navajo languages, and there were also special demonstration classes in methods of meeting bilingual problems.

The catalogue of the eighth session in 1944 affirms the enrichment of the program and the success of the unique undertaking. Forty-three practical and academic courses were classified under the following headings: Subject Matter for Indian Schools, Tools of Learning, Skills and Abilities for Teachers and Pupils, Orientation and Integration, and Miscellaneous Opportunities. Some of the background courses were listed as American Indian History, the Conservation of Indian Resources, and the Day School as a Center of Local Democracy.

The Indian Service Summer Schools are directed by the Educa-

tion Division in conjunction with the Medical, Extension, Construction, Personnel, Forestry, and Irrigation Divisions. The present aims are defined as the presentation of information that will lead to the lessening of government Indian supervision, the revision and adaptation of the Federal program with reference to the economic and social change currently taking place within Indian groups, the adoption of the most effective teaching methods, and the orientation of new employees. Work completed in the schools is accredited in a number of colleges and universities.

Another provision for training within service, which has been in effect since 1928, grants educational leave with pay for sixty days in alternate years for attendance at designated institutions. Since the purpose of educational leave is the ultimate improvement of the total program, the privilege must be approved by a supervisory staff. Regular conferences participated in by field personnel, Indian leaders, and tribal councils, are held both within and without the Service; and, when warranted, arrangements may be made for personnel to attend local, state, regional, national, or international meetings.

Two publications have disseminated information. *Indians at Work*, the first regular publication of the Indian Service, appeared in 1933 as a project of the Indian Division of the Civilian Conservation Corps, but it was suspended in 1945 in the wartime drive to save paper. It was a richly illustrated magazine of some forty pages with special editions devoted to Indian education, particular phases of Indian culture, and other significant subjects. In the autumn of 1936 the Education Division published the first number of *Indian Education*, a fortnightly bulletin of eight pages presenting technical information and discussion of interest. Studies based on various phases of Indian development are prepared from time to time by a small staff retained by the Education Division. The Indian Office Library and the Information Division have been merged to function as a public relations center.

A discriminating procedure demanding more than mere academic attainments began in 1935 in the selection of Indian Service appointees. Information concerning the applicant's social background, his theories of education, and his cultural understanding of the Indian was obtained before a Civil Service rating was acted upon, and a probational period of service was required before ap-

pointment was finally approved. Specialists in highly organized fields must indicate their ability to adapt their services in a practical way to local needs.

The number of Indians employed in Indian Service has increased rapidly. In 1940 more than twenty-five percent of the teachers in Indian schools were of one-fourth or more Indian blood. Scholarships and educational loans afford ample opportunity for Indians to complete college training, and the additional Civil Service requirement of two years of teaching experience was met by arranging an apprenticeship service for those Indians otherwise qualified. Examinations are taken at the expiration of the apprenticeship. In 1934 there were 1785 native employees in the Indian Service, 485 of whom had been appointed in 1933. In 1938 Indian employees numbered 3916, which was about fifty percent of the Indian Service personnel, and in 1940 the number had risen to sixty percent.

### *Alaska*

Alaskan Indian Service is in a distinct category. Alaska which was purchased from Russia in 1867 is the only United States territorial possession with Indian inhabitants. In 1943 the sparse and semi-nomadic native population of Eskimos, Aleuts, and Indians was estimated at forty-three thousand. Alaskan economic development has been slow. The gold rush days were transitory. Climatic conditions, rough terrain, territorial remoteness, limited communication and transportation facilities, and the unsettled native mode of life are some of the problems that beset Federal administration. The proximity to the war front necessitated the evacuation of certain sections and a temporary cessation of Federal plans in those areas.

The administration of native schools was assigned to the United States Office of Education in 1887, and was transferred to the Indian Service in 1931. Indian Office supervision was confined to the reindeer project, co-operative stores, health, and education until the Indian Reorganization Act was extended by legislation in 1936 to include Alaska. Although the Federal policy of economic improvement is the same in Alaska as in the States the developmental details of the program must differ because the situations are not alike. Alaskan natives have not been segregated, their

tribal organization has grown weak, and considerable racial assimilation has taken place. The natives are not readily inclined to adapt themselves to a settled mode of life after being long accustomed to earn their livelihood by hunting, fishing, mining, and trapping.

The village as the unit of organization and the native co-operative stores are two unique features. The co-operative stores were established by the government in 1911 to protect the natives against exploitation by guaranteeing just prices in the purchase of essential commodities and the sale of native products. They correspond to the Indian trading posts in the States but are unique in being owned and operated by the natives themselves. An excellent merchandising service is provided and the co-operative phase has peculiar significance.

The educational program has developed favorably in spite of obstacles. In 1942 there were 6450 native children enrolled in government schools, 360 in public schools, and 136 in mission, private, and State schools. The day school is the center of village organization and is concerned with the whole population which may be less than a hundred or more than five hundred. The teachers serve in many capacities in carrying out the Federal program and the school building is used as a public meeting place. Laundries, baths, and workshops in school buildings are available for community use. The course of study is both academic and practical and presents some opportunities in adult education, in its relationship to the entire group.

Vocational boarding schools offer high school work with technical training in handicrafts, mechanics, carpentry, sewing, tanning, and other projects of local derivation. A commercial course trains employees for the stores. The course of study in all the schools is related in one way or another to fishing, reindeer-raising, arts and crafts, and the administration of the stores, which are the four major fields of employment. Production in handicrafts is stimulated by a supervisor who develops markets. The reindeer industry which provides food and clothing is under the scientific direction of superintendents. Fishing rights are reserved in certain waters and canneries are being built. There is also a small beginning in agriculture.

A Nursery School was organized in the summer of 1943 to ac-

commodate the children of women who were employed in two canneries located in the village of Klawock in southeastern Alaska. Twenty-two children spent seven hours daily in the school where lunches, naps, rest periods, and supervised play made up the daily program in keeping with nursery school standards that prevail in the States.

The school personnel is on duty the year round either in villages or in camps. Living quarters are provided by the government which uses portable housing when the school follows industrial migrants. The problem of isolation has been partially met by the use of primitive dog sleds, coastal vessels, airplanes, and a number of two-way radio stations equipped to broadcast and to receive. Especial effort is made to employ native teachers, and a number of native apprentice teachers are usually on the rolls, while many school assistants are native.

From 1938 to 1942 there was an increase of twenty percent in the number of schools and personnel, and of more than thirty percent in enrollment. In 1942 less than ten percent of eligible children were not enrolled. The school term which formerly ranged from sixty-six to one hundred days annually now extends throughout the year. In 1942 there were forty-four organizations of villages, communities, associations, and corporations set up under the Reorganization Act. The total Indian Service program in Alaska will profit from post-war improvement in transportation and communications facilities, as well as from more diversified economic development.

### *Achievements in Education*

Achievements in education are heartening. Types of schools, in many instances, have been radically altered, the total school service has been improved, and school objectives have been redefined. Because the major aim of the current program is not merely material improvement, but the redirection of the Indian himself toward the attainment of economic independence, education has supplied an essential leverage in accelerating activities leading to the goal.

The creaking joints of the old-fashioned schools have been well oiled. The disapproval of boarding schools has eliminated, within ten years, more than a fourth of them and cut the figures of their enrollment in half, while it has increased the number of day schools

by more than a third and trebled their enrollment. In 1926 four-fifths of all Indian children in government schools were enrolled in boarding schools but in 1943 only a third was enrolled in them. More Indian children were enrolled in public schools in 1943 than in all government schools combined, and many public schools admitting Indian children had been realigned to meet specific Indian needs.

The general school service has been improved by extending grades and raising standards in elementary and secondary schools, and providing opportunities in the field of higher education. School instruction has been vitalized by integrating it with particular economic programs in terms of vocational training that has meant employment; and with welfare programs, such as health and sanitation, that has meant better living conditions. Efforts to reorient personnel has fallen into a workable program. The media of textbooks, schoolroom equipment, and library facilities have received careful attention, and new school architecture not only has aesthetic values but is meeting social and functional needs as well.

In view of the aim to increase knowledge for the enrichment of everyday living, school progress is coming to be measured not so much by institutional statistics, as in terms of better health, more literacy, and advancement toward self-maintenance. Never before in the history of Indian Service has a health education program been related formally and informally to school work and simultaneously carried to the community. Although the present health program still places the greater emphasis on cure and treatment of disease, the education program to prevent disease and attain better health is gaining ground. The reduction of the Indian death rate by half, and the apparent control of trachoma, which presented one of the most serious Indian health problems, are two outstanding health achievements.

Illiteracy holds on with obstinacy; but, with equal obstinacy, a program is pressed to liquidate it. Illiteracy and the inability to speak English continue to cut off far too many Indians from channels of contact needed in furthering the total program. Both barriers are perpetuated by mature Indians for whom no instruction is provided.

Schools have contributed directly to the rapidly increasing number of Indians who are gainfully employed. From 1941 to 1943



the vocational schools placed about two thousand in industrial jobs. Add to this figure scores of students technically instructed to engage privately in agriculture and stock-raising. The vocational emphasis in instruction has aided materially in qualifying Indians to hold more than half the positions available in Indian Service, and in 1943 alone, more than three thousand Indians were engaged in road and bridge construction. Thousands of Indians have qualified themselves to share in the program of economic betterment; and for the first time in a technological age, the Indians, who are historically a pre-industrial group, are beginning to take part in the directing of their own affairs.

Naturally there has been an increase in expenditures for education, but in view of the enriched and extended service it is amazingly small. In 1933 about ten and a half million dollars including about three quarters of a million dollars from tribal funds, were used for education. In 1945 the amount totaled approximately eleven and a quarter million dollars which included slightly more than a third of a million dollars from tribal funds. The total Indian Service appropriation in 1945 was something like two million dollars less than the preceding year, and about three million dollars less than in 1932.

### *Indian Economic Progress*

Quantitative gains are a matter of record. In 1942 the earned and unearned income of Indians reached nearly fifty-seven million dollars. Official reports of earned income reveal the Indian economic potential which so long has lain dormant. The Indians in groups and individually raised twenty-one million dollars worth of food in 1942. Two-thirds of it was sold on the market and the remainder was consumed at home. They owned thirty-four million dollars worth of livestock from which sales amounted to almost thirteen million dollars.

In 1932 Indians owned 170,794 head of beef cattle, and ten years later, the number had practically doubled. In the same period of time, herds of some eleven thousand dairy cattle had quadrupled. Sales from fields and gardens in 1942 totaled about seventeen and a half million dollars, and the value of products consumed at home was estimated at eight million dollars. The earned income from arts and crafts approached three quarters of a million dollars.



Table III

INDIAN INCOME FROM ALL LIVESTOCK AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS  
For the Years 1932-1944, Inclusive

1932	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	\$ 1,299,888.00
1933	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,224,549.00
1934	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,960,397.00
1935	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,577,900.00
1936	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,925,101.00
1937	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,941,193.00
1938	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,699,713.00
1939	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5,859,300.00
1940	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6,573,590.00
1941	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9,936,640.00
1942	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	12,808,234.00
1943	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	13,968,088.00
1944	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	15,039,329.00

Table IV

TOTAL ACREAGE OF FIELD CROPS GROWN BY INDIANS  
For the Years 1932-1944, Inclusive

									Acres
1932	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	511,686
1933	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	498,402
1934	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	539,514
1935	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	521,098
1936	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	597,395
1937	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	575,299
1938	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	614,492
1939	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	665,007
1940	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	709,988
1941	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	751,650
1942	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	739,467*
1943	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	796,857†
1944	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	788,884*

\*The 1942 and 1944 totals include harvested acres only.

†Includes 355,752 acres forage crops harvested, 370,557 acres cereal crops planted, and 70,548 acres of "other" crops harvested.

Table V

INDIVIDUAL INCOME OF RESIDENT INDIAN POPULATION  
Expressed as Percentage of the Whole

Earned:		Unearned: Leases,	
Native Products	2.2%	Permits, Annui-	
Agriculture	27.2	ties, and Interest	16.7%
Arts and Crafts	.7	Timber Sales	.6
Private Business	.5	Servicemens' Depend-	
Wages	37.5	ents' Allotments	7.3
Other	.4	Relief	4.3
		Other	2.6

The unearned income of the Indian is being protected as never before. Indian Service management of mineral deposits on Indian lands has brought an estimated annual income of more than five and a half million dollars from bonuses, rentals, and royalties. About two million dollars were realized from the sale of timber needed for war purposes in 1943, and in that year nearly a million dollars accrued from grazing privileges.

The land situation also has improved. In contrast to the loss of an approximate average of two million acres annually during the half century of land allotment, more than three million acres have been restored within ten years. The land was acquired chiefly by purchase with limited gratuity funds, and by turning over to the Indians areas held by the government for homesteading. Some of the Indians bought land with tribal funds. Land productivity has been improved by a scientific program of erosion control and irrigation, and by other modern methods of conservation, while extensive road-building has facilitated marketing.

The amazing economic shift could not have taken place so quickly without the use of the revolving credit fund authorized under the Reorganization Act. The loans have been well managed by the Indians with only an amount comparable to an interest rate marked off the records as a loss. By June 1943 more than four and a half million dollars had been advanced to the Indians by the government and nearly half had been paid back into the fund. Reports of the relending activities and loans showed that more than three and a half million dollars went to individuals, more than a third of a million went to co-operatives, and about a million and a half went to corporate enterprises.

By the middle of 1944, over five and a half million dollars had been loaned, and again nearly half the amount had been repaid. Indian funds supplement government loans and in 1945, the two combined, exceeded seven million dollars. An extremely small amount of the total had been checked off the records as lost.

A significant corollary to the record of material progress is the relatively small amount of relief extended to Indians who are under Federal supervision. General assistance to needy Indians for the fiscal year of 1943 amounted to \$445,211, and an average monthly grant of \$2.52 was issued to a monthly average of 14,719 recipients. Although in 1945 the total general relief rose to \$448,024, and the

average monthly grant per person to \$6.65, the average number of recipients had dropped from 14,719 to 5614, while the average monthly caseload had dropped from 4673 households in 1943, to 2213 households in 1945.

The prevailing living standards of the Indians are still far from acceptable but the improvement that has taken place in their economy is apparent. An incredible economic distance has been created between the days of rations and threatened destitution, and the year 1942 with millions of dollars in income; and an even greater distance exists between the days of the hunt and the beginning of adaptation to a technological economy.

Since the Reorganization Act is not imposed the achievements have been realized under a new kind of Federal supervision which is not arbitrary; neither is it paternalistic as in former days. Federal supervision strives toward a mutual understanding of existing situations and Indian co-operation is voluntary.

Indian approval of this new relationship is obvious in three-fourths of them accepting the Reorganization Act, the redirecting of tribal activities, the work of more than a hundred additional Indian groups organized to attain the objectives of the new program, the hundreds who have taken advantage of new educational opportunities, the numerous Indian appointees in Indian Service, and the thousands who are otherwise gainfully employed. Less than a fourth of the Indians remains non-committal, or is openly opposed to the present government program.

## *Problems and Outlook*

IN THE APPRAISAL of the reorganization of Indian Affairs much is found on the credit side of the ledger but the permanence of gains is threatened. There is grave apprehension that the crest of achievements has at least momentarily passed. Two serious obstacles have been set up by Congress in its refusal to authorize further subsidy for the purpose of implementing the broader aspects of the Indian Reorganization Act, and by limiting appropriations to formalized services in schools and hospitals.

The first obstacle drastically interferes with the functioning of the Reorganization Act, and constitutes, particularly at this stage of progress, a major economic setback. The present state of undeveloped natural resources and eroded barren scant land cannot serve as a fruitful base for Indian economic rehabilitation. Depleted Indian economy still requires material strengthening. But the Reorganization Act has not been repealed as of this writing (February, 1946) and as long as it remains on the statute books there is hope.

The second obstacle, the restriction of appropriations chiefly to formalized services in schools and hospitals, is a halfway Congressional gesture in co-operation that tends to perpetuate the inflexible agencies of the old regime. The unwillingness of the government to provide financial support of the Reorganization Act, and the inclination to approve only a limited Indian Service are dangerous trends which, if not offset, will halt the pursuance of the overall policy and in addition will undermine the permanence of recent gains.

An enriched field service, one of the primary objectives, cannot be attained as long as subsidized economic planning is intercepted,

and education and welfare programs are restricted to formal institutions. Insufficient time has elapsed for the current program to obliterate old rigidities and take root with sufficient fluidity to achieve lasting results. The modification that has taken place in established agencies has not yet converted them into means entirely suitable for furthering a long-range program of Indian economic betterment.

To unco-operative Congressional action may be added certain shortcomings of the Indian Service, which in contrast are unintentional. The current program is a new approach to the solution of problems in Indian affairs, and there was no guiding precedent. The Service could not automatically suspend action pending a period of research; consequently, mistakes were unavoidable. Perhaps there has not been proper balance between emphasis on material progress, and purpose to gain Indian participation; or, haste and impatience may have warped efforts to make objectives clear to the Indians; or, administration may have too often superseded function, or, it may be that the need for a fuller comprehension of the real fabric of Indian life was overlooked. Nevertheless, in spite of unintentional remissness, the Indian Service is to be commended for seeking all possible outside criticism that is helpful, and at the same time striving through self-analysis to correct past errors and avoid future ones.

The recognition of weaknesses and the aim to overcome them may be perceived in the Indian Service's self-criticism underlying a research program begun in 1943. The Service is working conjointly with the University of Chicago and the Society of Applied Anthropology to probe more deeply into unlocked secrets of certain limited cultural areas. The purpose of the project is a more refined and precise interpretation of Indian needs from both the Indian and the Service point of view. An enlarged mutual vision of objectives and the methods of attaining them are sought.

By focusing the microscope of scientific analysis on selected localities, mistakes are to be rectified and weak links in the chain of particular programs are to be remolded. The findings are to have practical application in a better correlation between administration and function, with keener insight into the time sequence and economic urgency in the carrying out of a program; the location and elimination of native resistances through arriving at more effective

media of communication to engage the Indian's interest; the unearthing of hitherto undiscernable elements in native culture as a base on which to build; methods of instruction and courses of study more relevant to the needs of precisely defined areas; and, finally, a more penetrating awareness on the part of personnel.

In short, this research project is a concentrated effort to arrive at a more workable methodology by throwing light on why and how varying degrees of acculturation have emerged from the interplay between Indian group and individual resistances, and the social and economic forces that lay within the long program of Federal Indian supervision and within American industrial development. In the process of transition, Indian acculturation has varied widely within areas unique because culture patterns were preserved by economic isolation, and within other areas in which scattered Indian groups and white groups are intermingled. Naturally, the variance in Indian needs requires a related variance in government programs.

Field employees are strategically located in their intimate contact with actual conditions to gain knowledge peculiarly helpful in rebuilding specific programs. Through the reinterpretation of a discerning personnel the hard and fast lines of institutionalized services, such as medicine, nursing, and education—as well as the innate rigidities of government service itself—can be eased, and a more workable correlation of diverse services put into effect. For example, a doctor can be equally concerned with hospital service and better community health; a teacher with schoolroom work and the student's community adjustment, and a nurse with the trachoma case itself, and also with its significance to a family group. A wiser personnel can aid not only in reinterpreting needs, but also in the modifying and the actual carrying out of a program to meet them.

A few area studies have been published and others are under way but it is too early for their recommendations to be fully absorbed in the services. However it is felt that the benefits and provisions of the Reorganization Act should be extended and the Federal-State programs should be broadened. This research project may be the key in freeing Indian Service from the shackles of its former mechanized regimentation.

There are problems, too, that are immediate and obvious. The



public school adjusted to meet the requirements of Indian children should as time passes play a more active part in Indian education. It is of first importance in communities made up of Indian and white families. Increasing collaboration of Federal, state, and local governments is essential in developing a long range comprehensive plan for the betterment of the largest possible number of Indians.

An insufficient number of government schools for Indian children is one of the reasons why enrollment and attendance are not better; but there are economic reasons also, such as the impermanence of households engaged in herding or migratory labor. The construction of schoolhouses and hospitals now made possible by appropriations will advance the total program only if the functioning of each unit is related to social and economic factors.

Under the new policy much is demanded of the education program and there has been extraordinary improvement in the field; nevertheless there needs to be a further broadening of this service. The course of study is now confined to elementary and secondary grades which serve only a segment of the population within a specified age range. The inclusion of nursery schools and an adult education program would more nearly serve the whole people. To make the youth literate and skillful is a desirable aim but the present circumscribed school service may be compared to that of earlier days when schools were well subsidized but their functioning was crippled by limitations administratively imposed.

~~A program arranged for those adults who have never had school opportunities and also for those desiring to continue practical school courses, would aid in liquidating illiteracy, increase Indian participation by technically qualifying individuals and groups, help the Indian become articulate in the objective recognition of his problems, and would in a measure reduce the frustration that will inevitably attend the present restrictions placed on the Reorganization Act. It would also mould Indian attitudes and enhance Indian leadership. The Indian Service Summer School is a novel and successful project but it enrolls teachers almost exclusively. Many of the courses offered would be of immeasurable benefit to Indian community leaders.~~

The boarding school, the heaviest financial burden in education, holds on grimly; and it cannot be wholly condemned because it has always had to meet urgent economic needs not otherwise taken

care of. With its further modification to include a co-operative type of industry it may prove to be the correct solution of a unique Indian situation. The day school has improved largely through its alignment with local industrial opportunities, and it, too, could foster co-operative enterprise more extensively.

The mobility of Indian population groups is impeded particularly by illiteracy, language difficulties, and lack of technological skill—three handicaps that should yield to an adequate education program. An enriched school curriculum and rising standards of living go hand in hand. A reoriented school program to serve a whole people, a program unified in its social and economic objectives but diversified to meet the multitudinous deviations in a mosaic context of needs is the administrative goal of Federal Indian education; a healthy literate self-maintaining Indian is the school goal trilogy.

The outcome depends on how well the government meets its obligations to a minority group—obligations that were assumed long ago and voluntarily. If the present policy is relentlessly adhered to the outlook need not be disheartening. The strength of the current program has been affirmed by a point-scoring of gains, and its positive values can be illuminated by placing it against a perspective of the past.

In retrospect it may be observed that Spain's program of realistically relating the industrial training of the Indian to national economy for the purpose of modifying native culture was the most successful of the colonial period. Efforts of the United States government to meet Indian needs were for a century incidental to national expansion. A series of historical events—the government's removal of the Indians, the national acquisition of territory following the War with Mexico, and the consolidation of the Union following the Civil War—uprooted Indian economy. Military control dominated the government Indian policy while education with fractional Federal aid barely met the exigencies of the moment. At the end of the period the Indians' impoverished state was such that the government had to face up to the emergency.

From 1870 a peace policy prevailed. But it, too, failed for more than a half century because the land was excessively allotted to individual Indians before they were capable of managing it for

their own benefit; and also because the public school, which was more foreign to Indian experience than the facing on a garment, was adopted as a pattern for Indian schools.

The analysis of Indian needs during this period was fragmentary and unsound. Indian culture was misunderstood and was looked upon as the primary cause of Indian impoverishment; hence, every effort was made to destroy it. It was argued that white economic progress was due to schools and individual land ownership; therefore, it was thought that Indian economic retardation could be remedied by providing the Indians with schools like the white man's, and by releasing tribal lands to the individual Indian.

The education program stressed rote learning to transmit literacy, and the routine performance of labor to instil habits of industry. The mind of the youth was assumed to be unconditioned and in a ready state of receptivity not unlike a treasure chest in which miscellaneous information might be neatly stored. In short, during this early period Indian economic betterment was sought by attempting to blot out native ways and customs, instituting individual land ownership, and relying on a static irrelevant education program. Because the short-sighted policy was based on unsound concepts, it brought as a consequence, landlessness and destitution to those it had intended to aid.

In contrast to the early period, the present program is based on an analysis of Indian needs which assumes that culture patterns emerge neither from racial nor from biological forces, but from environmental forces, and they are projected in social and economic institutions; that while culture patterns are numerous, none is an arbitrary model of excellence and none is static; that within each pattern lie permanent values that are constructively adaptable in the process of social transition; and finally, that the excellence of a pattern is measured by its contribution to group welfare. Indian and white culture patterns are seen to differ; therefore, technical and professional services are sought for their interpretation and correlation.

The present program of long range economic planning is carried out through a combination of legislation, Federal subsidy, the husbanding of natural resources, technical guidance, and the use of modern business methods in promoting co-operative and other types of industrial enterprise. The Indians' material resources are

improved by their own individual and group effort. Schools strive to increase knowledge for the enrichment of everyday living, and education acts as a lever in accelerating social and economic transition. Spectacular gains in Indian income are apparent in records, and because of expanding opportunities for employment an increasing number of Indians is sharing in the program.

The review of past and present programs shows the great and favorable changes that have been made. The seemingly harsh criticism of the earlier period should be tempered by the fact that it belonged to a distinct period of history. Little more than an uneven record could be expected from a program which projected what are now outmoded theories of anthropology, economics, and education.

The havoc of the earlier period was unwittingly wrought; but for Indian Service to revert deliberately to past policies now seen to be expensive and unwise would be without defense. A purposeful turning back would be stupid and disastrous. The years of the present program's existence are infinitesimal in comparison to the long preceding centuries of efforts. The short period could encompass only a beginning; nevertheless, the beginning is apparently in the right direction, if judged by the incredible improvement that has taken place recently in Indian economy.

The ultimate outcome will be determined by the manner in which the government continues to execute its trust, and the degree of insight acquired by the Indians in the understanding of their own community and the relationship between it and the national community. More than ever before the realization of present goals depends on the concerted action of the Indian Service, the United States Congress, the Indians, the taxpayers, and all other groups and individuals interested in human welfare and democratic government. The time is ripe to put all shoulders to the wheel.

Indian Service stands at a crossroads facing a picture cut across by deep shadows but not wholly dark. The retention and further strengthening of the present program is a paramount issue. The program is sound. It is one of common sense; one of mutual interest and universal good. Valiant and dramatic in its realism, it is one facet at the forge in molding a stronger nation by attempting to solve a unique domestic problem which may not have magnitude, but which, in the functioning of a political democracy, has lasting significance.

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